THE CHANGING ROLE OF THE LUTHERAN CLERGY 1900-1970

by

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study has been to measure the impact of social change on the role of the professional Lutheran clergy.

The theoretical base was stated: social change entails role change and causes cognitive dissonance. From this theoretical base, three testable hypotheses were derived: (1) social change results in role change among the clergy; (2) role changes of the clergy lead to role stress among both clergy and lay leaders; (3) role stress of the clergy will result in measurable response by the laity.

The three hypotheses were tested through examination of three periods 1900-1920; 1920-1945; 1945-1970. In these three periods, historical case studies of four representative Lutheran clergymen were presented to show how social change caused role stress and led to Lutheran clergy role redefinition.

The impact of these social changes on a representative sample of 275 Lutheran clergy and laity of the Pacific Southwest Synod was measured in May 1969 through a specially designed questionnaire. Follow-up interviews over a six-month period with a stratified sample of Pacific Southwest Synod clergy and church leaders provided additional data.

Findings

1. Clergy and laity perceived the clergy role in similar ways in the order of importance of ministerial duties.

2. There is also agreement between the clergy and laity on the sources of role strain: congregational demands in stewardship, office administration, and fund-raising.

3. Both clergy and lay members agree that the best way to resolve role strain is dialogue between clergy and church council members.

4. A dichotomy between clergy and laity was found in the measurement of the degree of satisfaction with the clergy role: the clergy show much greater dissatisfaction than the laity perceives.

5. Widely dissimilar views between the two groups were also found in measurement of the clergy work-week. The lay members greatly underestimate the time spent by the clergy on their duties.

6. Lay members do not understand the changes in role performance reported by the clergy who are spending more time in counseling, in fund-raising, and in office administration.

7. Dialogue between clergy and lay leaders to resolve role strain is made difficult by the inability of the clergy to describe the frustrations and stress they experience.

8. Church leaders are aware of clergy role stress and are taking some measures to relieve it.

9. The tentmaker concept is one viable alternate to present outmoded definitions of the clergy role.

10. The proposed redefinition of the Lutheran clergy role 1970 includes the concepts communicator-counselor-tentmaker.

The major hypothesis presented at the beginning of this study was (1) that social change leads to redefinition of the role of the Lutheran clergy; (2) that as the role changes, both clergy and laity

experience stress factors; (3) that these stress factors can be recognized and measured; and (4) that these stress factors and the efforts to alleviate them have led to the adoption of a new concept of the present-day role of the clergyman.

Each of these premises has been explored and tested, and the data presented herein serve to attest their validity.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The United States is undergoing sweeping social change which has affected every aspect of American life. The nation is engaged in a long and costly war in Southeast Asia. At home the war against poverty has reached a critical state. Tensions between the white majority and ethnic minorities are causing continuing stress on American institutions.

Americans have walked on the moon for the first time. Great universities have been disrupted by turmoil resulting in riots and bloodshed. In retrospect the peaceful Eisenhower years of the 1950's seem like a memory of a distant past. Yet, in chronological time, they were but a scant ten years ago.

That ancient institution, the Christian church, is caught up in change unparalleled since the Reformation of the sixteenth century. It is both an instrument to bring about change and a force resisting it. Social change has profoundly altered the life of the church and most of all, the professional clergy.

A distinguished American historian, Sydney E. Ahlstrom, Chairman of the American Studies Program at Yale University, says in a recent article:

> The decade of the 1960's has been marked by revolutionary changes in theology and ethics as well as in religious attitudes and moral standards. The overall ecclesiastical situation has also been profoundly altered, for Protestants, Catholics and Jews alike. Radical theology, powerful counter-cultural movement, a search for new life styles, serious dissatisfaction with traditional modes of religious expression, and widespread questioning of long-accepted views on the church, university and the state have put the 1960's into sharp contrast with the post-war affluence and religious revival. This relatively sudden transition is by no means easily explained, especially since the underlying intellectual and social issues have been slowly maturing for hundreds of years.[1]

Ahlstrom lists some of the major causes of social change in the last half of the decade of the sixties. He cites as precipitating events: (1) A Roman Catholic elected to the presidency and then struck down and laid to rest "while the nation and the world half stupefied by the succession of events joined in a concert of grief such as human technology had never before made possible."[2] (2) The election of Pope John the 23rd and his resulting call for a Vatican Council, whose impact is still being felt not only by Roman Catholics but by Christians of all communions. (3) The decisions of the Supreme Court in 1962 on the one man, one vote principle and its 1963 ruling on the question of religious ceremonies in the public schools. (4) The culmination of the civil rights movement in Selma, Alabama, in March 1965 and six months later a Watts riot which marked the end of the civil rights movement. (5) President Lyndon Johnson's authorization of the bombing of North Vietnam in February 1965 and by the end of the year, his raising of the American troop strength

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[1]Sydney E. Ahlstrom, "The Radical Turn in Theology and Ethics: Why It Occurred in the 1960's," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 387 (January 1970), p. 1.

[2]Ibid., p. 2.

in Vietnam to 200,000. Ahlstrom says, "It was now an American war in Southeast Asia."[3]

In listing these as major events of the last part of the decade of the sixties, Ahlstrom has pinpointed areas in which the Christian church has been directly involved. The death by assassination of President John Fitzgerald Kennedy led to serious soul searching within and without the church. Similarly, the Vatican Council had an impact out of all proportion to its stated purpose of modernizing the Roman Catholic hierarchy. The racial struggle with its promising early stages of progress in the civil rights movement has led to a kind of polarization in which the Black Panthers receive far more attention than moderates like the martyred Martin Luther King. In summary, Ahlstrom says:

> The full significance of these several compound events will not be knowable until the end of time, but it is perfectly clear to any reasonably conscious American historian that the post-war revival had completely frittered out, that the nation was moving rapidly toward a crise de la conscience of unprecedented depth. . . ."[4]

In all these issues the Christian church has been deeply and seriously involved. Caught in the midst of the swelling forces of social change are the professional clergy--Catholic, Protestant and Jewish--who are seeking to ride the whirlwind and minister to the people deeply affected by the crises of our time.

How have these winds of change affected the clergy in the parishes? No single, definite answer can be made at this time. But there

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[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

can be value in examining a particular part of the Christian church, the Lutheran Church in America, and one of the geographic units of that national church, the Pacific Southwest Synod, to attempt to measure the impact of social change on the clergy.

CHAPTER II

DEFINING THE PROBLEM

The purpose of this study is to measure the impact of social change on the role of the professional clergy. How does the professional clergyman respond to forces of social change as it affects him and his parish?

The study seeks to answer such questions as: (1) Does social change result in change of the clergy role? (2) Does attempted clergy role redefinition lead to role stress among clergy and lay leaders? (3) Can the stress of such role redefinition on clergy and laity be described and measured?

The scope of this study is limited to the Lutheran clergy and lay leaders of that denomination. Geographically, it is limited in the contemporary phase of the study to the Pacific Southwest Synod of the Lutheran Church in America. To answer the questions raised about the impact of social change on the role of the Lutheran clergyman, the study defines the classic Lutheran clergy role in the Reformation and post-Reformation period. Further role redefinition is described in three periods in American church life. The first period covers a time interval from 1900 to 1920. A case study of a typical clergyman who represents a type of role redefinition during that period is given. Other periods studied are 1920 to 1945 and the modern period 1945 to 1970.

In each of these three periods a representative type clergyman is described through the historical case study method. In the case study the role ascription for the clergyman during that period is delineated as well as his own role perception and an attempt is made to evaluate his role performance.

A particular focus of the study was role stress observed during the period 1945 to 1970. Social change described in the first chapter is analyzed in terms of its impact on the Lutheran clergy during that period. In answer to the question "Does social change lead to clergy role redefinition?" certain instruments to measure stress and impact of change were built and used. These include a questionnaire, follow-up interviews and modal type case studies during the three time periods.

In summary, the three periods, their modal roles and their case examples follow:

1. 1900-1920--The Lutheran clergy role as preacher-teacher-guardian of public and private morals

At the start of the twentieth century the Lutheran Church in America in the Upper Midwest was in the midst of a great period of immigration, particularly from the Scandinavian countries and from Germany. The great social change confronting the church was acculturation or adaptation from the European culture to the culture of the American frontier. During the last part of the period the pattern of Lutheran church life was changed by the impact of the first World War.

The representative or modal type clergyman described for this period is the Rev. O. Birger Nelson. His particular role, like that of all clergymen, was shaped by the social forces of his day. A number of his records, books, personal diaries and sermons were available to the

writer of this study. The material, some of it in the Swedish language and made available through translation especially for this study, proved to be a valuable primary source for the case study.

2. 1920-1945--The Lutheran clergy role redefined as preacher-teacher-administrator

During the period immediately following the first World War, social changes occurred in three distinct periods: (1) the great economic expansion of the first decade from 1920 to 1929; (2) the Great Depression from 1930 to 1939; and (3) the period of the second World War from 1939 to 1945. Evidence is presented that social change in America in this period also brought about a redefinition of the Lutheran clergy role in which the guardian-of-public morals became less important and the role of administrator became more vital. The two Lutheran clergymen who represent this period are the Rev. Joshua Oden, Pastor of Irving Park Lutheran Church of Chicago (for the earlier part of the period up to and including 1938), and for the period 1939 to 1945, the Rev. Reuben Youngdahl, Pastor of Mt. Olivet Lutheran Church, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

3. 1945-1970--A period of role stress requiring role redefinition

In the decade of the 1960's, the church was faced with rapid social change which is described by Hadden as a crisis.[1] The traditional terminology of past periods did not adequately define the changes occurring in the clergy role. The past pattern of preacher-teacher-administrator shifted into a composite role definition involving communicator-counselor-tentmaker. The modal clergyman is the Rev. Paul Schaeffer.

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[1]Jeffrey K. Hadden, "Clergy Involvement in Civil Rights," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 387 (January 1970), p. 127.

The Problem of Authority

Where does the Lutheran pastor get his authority? The study will attempt to answer this question for the three time periods studied and an analysis will be made of the problems of authority in the contemporary period, 1945 to 1970.

The Lutheran clergymen of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries apparently had no real problems of authority. The evidence is clear that while individuals would accept or reject the clergyman on the basis of his leadership, the question of whether or not this particular clergyman had authority was not seriously questioned. The evidence from the early period shows excommunications, various kinds of church discipline, presenting of credentials of ordination to and reception by congregations that are complete strangers to the clergyman.

Additional evidence is presented through novels such as Giants in the Earth by Rölvaag. The author describes scenes of Lutheran church life on the then raw frontier of South Dakota. In the novel, Lutheran clergymen, without the benefit of formal organization, were able to move quickly into positions of leadership among the Norwegian immigrant Lutheran settlers simply by announcing to them that they were ordained clergymen. All this would indicate that the authority pattern between 1900 and 1920 was relatively unchallenged. Some possible bases for the authority of the clergy during this period may be explained as a carry-over from the authoritarian position of the National Churches of Europe, the superior education of the clergy at that time compared to that of the general lay population, and the authoritarian pattern in family and society of which the church was a strong link.

In the period 1920 to 1945, the picture of authority is less clear. There seems to be substantial evidence that the pastors who followed the pattern of efficient church administration and management--such as the two examples, Joshua Oden and Reuben Youngdahl--had no serious questions as to their authority until the closing years of their ministry. While it is impossible to be sure, it seems that the authority pattern followed by those clergymen was that of any successful corporation executives. These were also examples of charismatic leadership or a self-authenticating authority pattern.

In the contemporary period beginning 1945 and continuing to the present, the question of authority is of great importance. Sydney Ahlstrom and other members of the Commission on the Ministry of the Lutheran Church in America, in making their report to the convention of that body in July 1970, consider the question of authority as crucial in the redefinition of the role of the ministry.[2]

The question as to the ordination of women which is a complete break with tradition in the Lutheran Church in America is an example of the re-examination of the bases of authority. This problem of authority is considered in the various time periods discussed in this study and will be a central issue to be resolved in the redefinition of the clergy role as it is described in the period 1945 to 1970. The problem of authority needs to be dealt with realistically and solutions need to be found if the role strain and role confusion of the clergy are to be resolved in the 1970's.

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[2]Sydney Ahlstrom, Interview, June 1970.

In this study an attempt is made to answer these questions: (1) How has social change affected the Lutheran clergy role in the period 1900-1970? (2) If the clergy role has been re-defined, has this caused stress for the clergy and the laity? (3) Can the stress of role re-definition for the Lutheran clergy and lay leaders be described and measured?

Data from historical case studies, a survey, and interviews are presented to answer these questions.

CHAPTER III

SURVEY OF THE LITERATURE

In selecting significant works dealing with the changing role of the Lutheran clergy, the writer faces the problem of definition and purpose. Of the multitude of books written by and about the role of the clergy (beginning with the five books of Moses in the Old Testament) there must be a rigorous selection of those books which deal specifically with the role of the Lutheran clergy. For this particular study, works describing the role of Scandinavian clergy, and more specifically the distinctive cultural and historical heritage of the Augustana Synod, were chosen. The selection of literature in the post-war era is guided again by the contributions the studies have made to the particular problems of the Lutheran clergy in regard to role ascription, role perception, and role performance as background to role re-definition in the modern period, 1945 to 1970.

Edward W. Uthe, as editor of a study called Social Change, says:

> Three factors have shaped our present social physical environment: demography, economic-technological resources, and belief and value systems. The demographic factor includes the size, distribution, characteristics and movement of the population. The economic-technological factors consider the natural resource base, production techniques, and systems of communication, transportation, manufacturing, distribution and finance. Belief in value systems take in such elements as

> society's prevailing outlook on life, individual and group aspirations, economic and political ideologies.[1]

Mr. Uthe lists three basic factors as instruments of change: the government, the economy, and religious institutions. He states that social changes are implemented by new social inventions, new physical inventions, and the wider use of existing physical inventions. Among the factors inhibiting progress, he lists the fact that not all geographic regions or social groups have shared equally in the changes. He goes on to describe the North American setting, its government, its politics, and its economic trends, and finally moves into the area of religious institutions and the American family. The book was useful for this study since it shows how the church as a major institution was both an instrument helping to bring about change and a force resisting change.

An Anglican writer, John Wordsworth, D.D., Bishop of Salisbury, in his book, The National Church of Sweden, shows the transition in early Swedish history from Roman Catholic authority to the autonomous Swedish National Lutheran Church which developed late in the sixteenth century.[2] It is one of several sources dealing with the cultural background of the Church of Sweden in the late nineteenth century, valuable because it shows the development of Lutheran clergy types immediately prior to 1900, the starting point for the study of the modal clergyman discussed in Chapter V.

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[1]Edward W. Uthe, Social Change, An Assessment of Current Trends (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1968), p. 1.

[2]John Wordsworth, The National Church of Sweden (London: A. R. Mowbray, Ltd., 1911).

Another valuable study of the period of transition between Roman and Lutheran Church life in Sweden is Olavus Petri and the Ecclesiastical Transformation in Sweden by Conrad Bergendoff, a distinguished Lutheran scholar, who served as president of Augustana College and Theological Seminary.[3] Bergendoff's major thesis is that there was continuity between the existing episcopal structure of Sweden in the year 1521 and the resulting Swedish Lutheran Church which was guided in large measure by Olavus Petri during the period 1521 to 1552. In summing up the contributions of Petri to the ecclesiastical "transformation," Bergendoff consistently uses this term to make a distinction between this type of change and the Reformation in Germany.

> It is not too much to claim for Olavus Petri that he was the prophet of the Swedish Evangelical Communion. In the days of disintegration and destruction of the old, he saw clearly the character of a new church. His writings reveal an understanding of the fundamental principles of the Christian community and his endeavor was to put first things first. . . . He pointed out more insistently the things that should be kept and the things that should be abolished. . . .[4]

In the preface to his much later work, The Church of the Lutheran Reformation, Bergendoff tries to dispel two misconceptions which he feels have distorted the church of the Lutheran Reformation. One of these, he says, is to regard "the Lutheran Church as a new communion dating from Luther's days." A second misconception he sees as considering "the church of the Lutheran Reformation as essentially a German church."[5] His volume is a comprehensive survey of the world-wide

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[3]Conrad Bergendoff, Olavus Petri and the Ecclesiastical Transformation in Sweden (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1928), Foreword.

[4]Ibid., p. 250.

[5]Conrad Bergendoff, The Church of the Lutheran Reformation (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1967), p. xv.

Lutheran movement beginning with a thousand years of Christian history prior to the Reformation and continuing through the traditional sixteenth century treatment of Luther and his associates. He then traces the spread of Lutheranism to France, Scandinavia, to other European countries, and finally to all the major continents. In his chapters on Lutherans in America he draws on his own distinctive background to trace with great detail the work of the Scandinavian churches as well as the larger groups representing the German ethnic traditions.

In a contemporary study of The Protestant Faith, George W. Forell seeks the essential unity of the Protestant tradition in five doctrinal positions: (1) Grace and the Sovereignty of God; (2) Faith; (3) Scripture as the role of faith; (4) The Priesthood of all believers; and (5) The fallibility of man and all human institutions.[6] Dealing with specific Protestant groups, he considers the doctrine of man, the doctrine of Christ, the Holy Spirit in the church, and eschatology. In his statement on the Protestant view of the ministry, he says:

> To Protestants the ministry is a functional office, not a sacrament. Some Christians (Roman Catholics, Greek Orthodox, High Church Anglicans) believe that a man who has been ordained in the ministry will always be a priest; ordination puts an indelible mark on his person. He can become an unfaithful and evil priest but he will always stand in a special relationship to God. Since ordination is for them a sacrament, one can never lose this mark. For the Protestant Faith, the ministry is a functional office instituted by God for the sake of the church. . . . For most Protestants this understanding of the ministry as a functional office makes the form and particular organization of the ministry of secondary importance.[7]

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[6]George W. Forell, The Protestant Faith (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1960), p. 17.

[7]Ibid., p. 238. (Emphasis added.)

This distinctively Protestant view of the ministry as it is somewhat modified within the Lutheran tradition will be discussed more fully in later chapters of this study. Forell has made a valuable contribution to understanding the role of the ministry by his analysis of historic antecedents and his synthesizing of the diverse trends of Protestantism into a cohesive statement of doctrine and practice.

In Volume I of the series, Religion in American Life,[8] Sydney Ahlstrom, Director of American Studies at Yale University, offers some penetrating insights into distinctive theological trends in America in contrast to European theology. Ahlstrom is especially helpful for this study as he evaluates the work of Carl F. W. Walther and Charles P. Krauth, two giants of American Lutheran theology. Their work in the middle and late nineteenth century redirected Lutherans in America toward a more confessional position.

In Volume II of this series, entitled Religious Perspectives in American Culture, Dayton D. McKean traces the interaction between church and state in America and the distinctive cultural contributions, both positive and negative, which Protestants have made in developing laws and institutions in the political arena in the United States.

McKean uses with regret the word "lobby" for some of this activity although he acknowledges that the word has a somewhat sinister sound and perhaps evokes a too negative connotation for the contributions Protestants have made to the total ordering of the American political

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[8]Sydney Ahlstrom, "Theology in America: A Historical Survey," in Vol. I, The Shaping of American Religion, in the series, Religion in American Life, ed. by James Ward Smith and A. Leland Jamison (2 vols.; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), p. 279.

system. His commentary on the role Protestants played in the development of prohibition is extremely helpful in understanding the role of the Lutheran clergy, particularly in the period 1900-1920 in which the Lutheran minister's function was defined as the "preacher-teacher-guardian of public and private morals."[9]

Far different from the usual scholarly works on various aspects of Protestantism is The Progress of the Protestant, with its revealing sub-title, A Pictorial History from the Early Reformers to the Present-Day Ecumenism, by John Haverstick. In this book of pictures and brief text, the author traces the pre-Protestant period, takes a look at the Lutheran Reformation and moves into the current era with its emphasis upon the ecumenical movement. In his foreword, he says, "This book is a history of the major actions and beliefs and the changing concepts of Protestantism, which, it should be pointed out, is one and only one branch of Christianity." The author takes this basic position:

> The beliefs and actions of the Protestant have influenced much of the course of Western history and, in fact, of the entire world in many ways wrongly, as well as rightly, as good Protestants would be the first to admit.[10]

For the sake of this study, the section dealing with the temperance movement in America and the Lutheran reaction to it was especially helpful.

In order to examine some of the early source material of the antecedents of the Augustana Lutheran Church and several of the modal

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[9]Dayton D. McKean, "The State, the Church and the Lobby," in Vol. II, Religious Perspectives in American Culture, in the series, Religion in American Life, ed. by James Ward Smith and A. Leland Jamison (2 vols.; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), pp. 119-159.

[10]John Haverstick, The Progress of the Protestant (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968), Introduction.

type pastors, an analysis was made of the work by Eric Norelius. Certain portions of this volume were translated especially for this study.[11] This special translation made possible a comparison of the primary accounts in Norelius with some later translations and enabled the writer to look at material of special value regarding early Lutheran work in the Western part of the United States. Norelius' work is considered the primary source in this field.[12]

Since the Norwegian and Swedish settlements in the Upper Midwest had much in common in terms of frontier conditions and since the Augustana Lutheran Church had as its antecedent a confederation of both Norwegian and Swedish congregations, particularly valuable was the study by E. Clifford Nelson and Eugene L. Fevold, The Lutheran Church Among Norwegian-Americans.[13] Especially helpful in tracing the mid-nineteenth century cultural and theological climate for the development of the immigrant churches, this work traces the development of Norwegian Lutheranism as it interacted with the Swedish groups in the mid-nineteenth century. The first volume describes the Puritan aspects of Lutheranism in the Upper Midwest, particularly in Wisconsin and Minnesota, where much of the early development of the Augustana Lutheran Church also took place. Thus both groups had a common background, the state churches on the European continent. In the Augustana Synod founded in Jefferson Prairie, Wisconsin,

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[11]Translation by Goesta Lundstedt.

[12]Eric Norelius, De Svenska Lutherska Forsamlingarnas Och Svenskarnas Historia I Amerika (Rock Island, Ill.: Augustana Book Concern, 1916).

[13]E. Clifford Nelson and Eugene L. Fevold, The Lutheran Church Among Norwegian-Americans (2 vols.; Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1960).

in June 1860, Norwegians and Swedes found, briefly, a common church home. When the Norwegians later established their own distinctively ethnic church groups, the Swedes kept close fraternal ties and developed in a separate but parallel way throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The study by Nelson and Fevold is especially valuable in describing frontier Lutheranism from the 1840's through the late nineteenth century and the process whereby Lutheran immigrants from Norway and Sweden made the transition to American life. The second volume of the set, which brings the study to the present day, was also helpful in detailing description of the various mergers which led to the unification of Norwegian Lutherans and finally to the great merger period of the 1960's.

Before the Augustana Lutheran Church entered the merger resulting in the Lutheran Church in America in 1962, G. Everett Arden, a professor at Augustana Theological Seminary, was commissioned to write its history. His volume, entitled Augustana Heritage,[14] is considered to be an official history of this branch of Lutheranism in America. It affords comprehensive coverage of cultural and theological as well as the historical background of the body of Lutherans examined most closely in this study, and has been quoted extensively herein.

In the consideration of the role definition of the clergy in the period 1900 to 1920, the work of G. H. Gerberding was an important source. His book was used as a text in pastoral theology taught to seminary students in the period in which the Rev. O. Birger Nelson and the Rev.

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[14]G. Everett Arden, Augustana Heritage (Rock Island, Ill.: Augustana Book Concern, 1963).

Josua Oden, two of the representative pastors, were in theological school. In his work, The Lutheran Pastor,[15] Gerberding deals with the pastor's role in the pulpit, the administration of the sacraments, and the pastor as catechist. Gerberding also shows his view of the pastor as the "preacher-teacher-guardian of public and private morals" in advising pastors to avoid any use of liquor, even when offered wine to toast the bride at a wedding reception.[16]

The Rev. Dr. A. D. Mattson, a long-time professor of Augustana Theological Seminary, gathered the basic policy statements of the Augustana Lutheran Church into one volume in 1941. His work, entitled Polity of the Augustana Synod, deals with various historic types of church organizations and the distinctive type worked out by the Augustana Lutheran Church. Discussing the office of the ministry, he cites the Biblical types of prophets, apostles and evangelists, pastors, presbyters, and bishops, and then discusses the definition and nature of the office of the ministry and the external call. Mattson says:

> According to Luther the task of the pastor is to preach the Word and administer the Sacraments as a Christian among Christians. The pastor does not belong to a special caste, endowed with special super-natural power. The pastor is a man who has been appointed by the church to perform a special function.[17]

Mattson goes to to differentiate the Lutheran view of the ministry from that of the Roman Catholic or Greek Orthodox churches in these words,

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[15] G. H. Gerberding, The Lutheran Pastor (Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society, 1902).

[16] Ibid., p. 353.

[17] A. D. Mattson, Polity of the Augustana Synod (Rock Island, Ill.: Augustana Book Concern, 1941), p. 50. (Emphasis added.)

"The Lutheran Church recognizes no ecclesiastical hierarchy and no episcopal authority jure divino. Whatever power is vested in any such office is jure humano." He continues, "When you take the Lutheran conception of the church and the Lutheran conception of the ministry and put them together, we inevitably arrive at the position which Luther set forth in 1523. He /Luther/ emphasized that the local congregation has a right to call and dismiss its pastor."[18] Mattson describes the development of this congregational emphasis in detail and shows its continuity in the Augustana synod. He says:

> In every constitution which the Synod has adopted, the right of the congregation to call its pastor has been maintained and guarded. In 1861 it was decided that a man must have a permanent call from a congregation in order to be ordained in the synod.

In summary he says:

> The local congregation has the right to call its pastor. It also has the right to dismiss its pastor. This fact has also been recognized by the synod, even though it was not explicitly stated in the congregational constitution of 1907.[19]

A practical adjustment to allow for pastors who are called in the so-called "general work" is described as follows:

> In the case of men who are ordained but not engaged in parish work, the Synod considers its pastor filling this call by discharging duties in which he has been called by the Synod to any of its conferences or boards. The Synod, the Conference and the Boards must assume the responsibility of determining to which non-parish offices ordained pastors should be called.[20]

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[18] Ibid., p. 51.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid., p. 56.

Since the Augustana Synod has now been merged into the much larger Lutheran Church in America, Mattson's book is a valuable period piece.

Another book by A. D. Mattson has had a profound effect on the thinking of all generations of pastors who attended the Augustana Theological Seminary between 1935 and 1955. The book, Christian Ethics, is a survey of classic Christian ethics as understood in the Lutheran Church since the time of the Reformation. He defines sin, describes the degrees of guilt and the consequences of sin, moves into the content of the Christian ideal, Christian virtues, and Christian duties. In the chapters on Christian duty in the realm of the state he assumes what is still a liberal position when he says, "War itself and the various causes of war are antithetical to the spirit of Christianity."[21] Then he discusses the various causes of war and says that a Christian historically has taken one of three attitudes: (1) to obey the government; (2) to engage in just wars; or (3) to take a pacifistic stance.

The Beginnings and Progress of /the/ Minnesota Conference[22] of the Lutheran Augustana Synod is a collection of programs and brief historical sketches of the older congregations of the Minnesota Conference of the then Augustana Synod. Although lacking in unity and historical interpretation, this book provides a glimpse into a transitional period of church life in the Minnesota Conference. The lingering influence of

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[21] A. D. Mattson, Christian Ethics (Rock Island, Ill.: Augustana Book Concern, 1938), p. 333.

[22] The Beginnings and Progress of /the/ Minnesota Conference (Minneapolis: The Lund Press, 1929).

Sweden in the life of the Minnesota Conference is shown in the Conference program which lists not only Swedish sermons by various pastors within the Conference but lists as special guests the Bishop of Skara, Sweden, Hjalmar Danell and his wife Maria. Other distinguished guests at the Conference which marked its seventy-fifth anniversary in Chisago Lake, Minnesota, included the then Governor of Minnesota, Theodore Christensen; the president of the Augustana Synod, G. A. Brandelle; and L. D. Coffman, president of the University of Minnesota.

Lutherans Working Together, by Osborne Hauge, is a work commissioned by the National Lutheran Council, a service agency of two-thirds of American Lutherans. It traces the history of Lutheranism from its beginnings in 1638 to the immediate post-World War II period. Of special interest is the way in which the National Lutheran Council served as an effective agency to copy with the emergency situations growing out of the two world wars in regard to service to military personnel and especially service to Lutherans overseas in the immediate post-war periods. While the work of the National Lutheran Council had an important impact on the total life of the Lutheran Church in America, it never became an actual vehicle for church union. However, contacts made within the National Lutheran Council did serve to stimulate activity which led to the important church unions in the early 1960's. In a closing summary the author says:

> The National Lutheran Council carried from its beginning undimmed consciousness of the responsibilities resting upon the Lutheran Churches of America, and for the dark days of

> the present and uncertainties of the future, pledges itself to mold and lead on in the unfolding destinies of the Lutheran Church of America and of the Western Hemisphere.[23]

In 1946 the Lutheran Minnesota Conference, the largest single unit of the Augustana Lutheran Church, commissioned its secretary, the Rev. Emeroy Johnson, to write a history of the Minnesota Conference as a part of its ninetieth anniversary celebration. In the preface he quotes the works of his predecessors in writing the history of the Conference--Eric Norelius, who wrote both at the twenty-fifth and fiftieth anniversaries and the book cited earlier, The Beginning and Progress of /the/ Minnesota Conference, published at the seventieth anniversary in 1929. In this volume, A Church is Planted, the author has chosen to concentrate on the period 1851 to 1876. A part of his survey deals with the pioneer congregations in Goodhue County and in particular the St. Ansgar's Church, served at a later time by the Rev. O. Birger Nelson, the representative clergyman of the period 1900-1920. Although the chronicle of the Conference stops in 1876, in his preface the president of the Minnesota Conference gives a progress report on the scope of the Conference activities in the period immediately following World War II. Typical of the ethnic particularism of the early pioneer Lutheran pastors is the statement ascribed to Eric Norelius when he drove through Minneapolis in January 1861. "At that time there were no Swedes in Minneapolis, so there was no need to stop and preach there."[24] Today, more than one hundred

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[23]Osborne Hauge, Lutherans Working Together (New York: National Lutheran Council, 1945), p. 99.

[24]Emeroy Johnson, A Church is Planted (Minneapolis: The Lund Press, 1948), p. 154.

years later, Minneapolis is one of the strongest Lutheran communities in the United States, but in the pioneering period the clergy saw their task as ministering only to the immigrants of their particular ethnic group. This book has particular value also in showing the social concerns of the Minnesota Conference of the Augustana Lutheran Church in organizing a children's home in the early pioneer period and in the extensive network of institutions of mercy--hospitals, homes for the aged, and colleges--which subsequently marked the life of the Conference during its entire century of existence.

Perhaps no better story of the difficulties of frontier life for the Scandinavian immigrant has ever been told than O. E. Rölvaag's Giants in the Earth.[25] In 1896 Rölvaag came to South Dakota, which at that time was the frontier's raw edge for Scandinavian immigrants. After three years as a farmhand, and later working in a factory and in a saloon, he entered Augustana Academy, a private preparatory school in Canton, South Dakota, in 1899 at the advanced age of 23. Two years later he went on to St. Olaf College from which he graduated in 1905. His monumental work tells the story of poverty-stricken Norwegians who move out into the central South Dakota plains and exist under great hardship until they have "proven up" their homesteads and are able to become independent farmers. His account of the reaction of the farmers to the first ordained Norwegian Lutheran minister who visits them, the authority of the minister who had no formal relationship to a congregation but who represented the great traditions of the Church of Norway, are accurate

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[25] O. E. Rölvaag, Giants in the Earth (New York: Harper and Row, 1927).

representations of frontier life among Scandinavians. This prize-winning book is considered a classic in the tradition of immigrant literature. It is also a revealing document as to the relations of clergy and laity and the concept of the ministry held by immigrants in the period 1900 to 1910.

Ernest Troeltsch, in his study of The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches, has made an important distinction between the basic sociological theories of Catholicism and Lutheranism. He says that Catholicism has as its basis two elements: (1) the organic view of the church as the integrating force in society and (2) the patriarchal element. By way of contrast, Lutheranism excludes the organic, that is, the integrating element, and retains the patriarchal view. Troeltsch's classic statement of Lutheran belief is as follows:

> I believe that God has created me and all that exists, my body and soul, my eyes and ears, and all my members, my reason and all my senses, that he has given and still preserves to me my clothes and shoes, house and home, wife and child, fields and cattle, and all my goods; richly and daily he cares for me providing me with all the nourishment for the needs of my body and my life. Protects me from all danger and keeps and preserves me from all evil, all out of pure fatherly and divine goodness and mercy without any merit or worthiness in me.[26]

Troeltsch then states the basic premise that Protestants are different from Catholics in their view of the church and of society because of the Protestant view of the relative autonomy of the individual. Unlike a Catholic who feels himself to be part of a great world organization, the Protestant historically has identified himself with Luther's position of man's vertical relationship to God, and therefore feels himself accountable

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[26]Ernest Troeltsch, The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches (2 vols.; New York: Harper and Row, 1960), p. 543.

only to God. This view has had particular impact upon Lutherans who have grappled with the concept of the relationship of Church to State. Even in Norway and Sweden there has been a continuing struggle for the church to retain its own identity unfettered by the state.[27]

Writing just before the first World War, Troeltsch summed up the classic Lutheran Protestant view held since the sixteenth century that man was basically accountable only to God and was not responsible for the social welfare of his fellow human beings. The Lutheran Renaissance of the last several decades, as exemplified by Dietrich Bonhoeffer and others, has led to a contrary view to be discussed later in this chapter.

Max Weber introduced the term, "the Protestant ethic," into the English language via his massive work on the relationship between the spirit of Protestantism and the development of the capitalistic system.[28] Weber traces the beginning of the spirit of capitalism to Luther's conception of the call (Beruf). Weber goes on to discuss the influence of predestination on the spirit of capitalism, showing a striking parallel between the two movements. Published in Germany in 1904-1905, Weber's work has had a delayed but very deep impact on sociological and theological thinking in the United States in the last several decades. It has helped to supply the rationale under which Lutheran pastors have been raising critical comments about certain aspects of the capitalistic system and has given them an intellectual basis for criticism of the social system as it is now operating.

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[27]See Bergendoff, The Church of the Lutheran Reformation.

[28]Max Weber, Protestant Ethics and the Spirit Capitalism (New York: Scribner, 1958).

If Max Weber and Ernest Troeltsch represent the Old Testament of scholarship which aligns Protestantism with capitalism and with acceptance of the authority of the state, then Dietrich Bonhoeffer, a Lutheran clergyman martyred by Hitler, represents the New Testament of emancipation and freedom for the clergy of today. In a memoir placed in tribute at the beginning of Bonhoeffer's The Cost of Discipleship, G. Leibholz, a friend and associate, says:

> In the earlier stages of his career Bonhoeffer accepted the traditional Lutheran view that there was a sharp distinction between politics and religion. Gradually, however, he revised his opinion . . . because he came to recognize that the political authority had become entirely corrupt and immoral and that a false faith is capable of terrible and monstrous things. . . . Bonhoeffer was formerly and rightly convinced that it is not only a Christian right but a Christian duty towards God to oppose tyranny, that is, a government which is no longer based on natural law and the law of God. . . . Thus it was Bonfoeffer who first brought home the full lesson of the Oxford Conference to the Lutheran Church in Germany, namely, that the life of the church must be linked with the life of the people. This is the deeper meaning of Bonhoeffer's martyrdom and death for the Protestant Church in Germany. Her future depends on her right understanding of them.[29]

In his work which has since become a landmark in the history of Protestant thought, Bonhoeffer argued that the Christian cannot be isolated from his fellowman. His argument which appears again and again in his works has been taken up by succeeding writers who are having a wide influence on the American clergy and in particular the Lutheran clergy who are re-examining their position in the light of the social ferment of our time.

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[29]Dietrich Bonhoeffer, The Cost of Discipleship (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1960), p. 25.

John A. T. Robinson, Anglican Bishop of Woolwich, in his forthright book, Honest to God,[30] acknowledges his debt to three men who brought about his own ecclesiastical journey from conservatism to a radical New Theology. Robinson credits Paul Tillich with beginning his transformation with his sermon collection, The Shaking of the Foundations, and he points to Dietrich Bonhoeffer's Letters and Papers from Prison, together with works of Rudolph Bultmann on demythologizing the New Testament as the basis for his movement from historical and conservative Christianity to a new position. Robinson's book landed like a bombshell in America and its impact is still being felt in theological and church circles.

Harvey Cox, in The Secular City, freely acknowledges his indebtedness to Bonhoeffer for raising the basic question, "Can there be a way to speak in a secular fashion of God?" Bonhoeffer had proclaimed from prison on April 30, 1944, "We are proceeding toward a time of no religion at all. How do we speak of God without religion. . . . How do we speak in a secular fashion of god?"[31] Cox takes up the challenge by saying that we can no longer accept the basic distinction of what is secular and what is sacred. The breakdown of institutional reglion, as he sees it, is caused by the socio-cultural breakdown of our time. Cox argues that God is to be found in all aspects of what we have previously called secular culture. He says by way of summary, "Our transition today from the age of Christendom to the new era of urban secularity will be no

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[30]John A. T. Robinson, Honest to God (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1963).

[31]Harvey Cox, The Secular City (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1966), p. 211.

less shaking. Rather than clinging stubbornly to antiquated appellations or anxiously synthesizing new ones, perhaps, like Moses, we must simply take up the work of liberating the captives confident that we will be granted a new name by events of the future."[32]

What Robinson did for England with Honest to God, and what Cox did for American Christianity in The Secular City, Pierre Berton has done for Canada with The Comfortable Pew. His devastating attack on Anglicanism as exemplified in the Church of England in Canada makes a scathing indictment of Christian complacency about nuclear war, racial injustice, the worship of national creeds, and the ecclesiastical caste system. He then raises a serious question as to whether or not there can be a real revolution. In answering the question, "Is revolution possible?" he says:

> . . . that in its desperate effort to preserve its established entity, the church has become fossilized and that the fossilization has prevented it from moving with the world. It is the thesis of this book that a violent revolution--violent in the psychological and social rather than the physical sense--is needed to save Christianity.[33]

These three books together formed a new trinity of criticism of institutional Christianity in the three largest English-speaking countries of the world. All three drew heavily upon Bonhoeffer and used his major thesis that religion was entering a new phase in which all of mankind could rediscover God through secular avenues.

Drawing on themes from Emile Durkheim and Max Weber in which he seeks to find a universal element in religion, Thomas Luckmann, in his

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[32] Ibid., p. 235.

[33] Pierre Berton, The Comfortable Pew (New York: Lippincott, 1965), p. 115.

recent work, The Invisible Religion, has tried to formulate the basis for a new type of religious life to meet the secular age outlined by Cox and Robinson. He postulates that there is a universal human experience of a "world view" which may begin with such natural observation as mountains, sky, and sea but extends in more literate countries to an ideal of the universality of mankind. Says Luckmann, "We may conclude, therefore, that the world view, as an objective and historical social reality, performs an essentially religious function and defines it as an elementary social form of religion."[34] While not giving up on the institutional church as a possible aid to this rediscovery of the world view of religion, Luckmann believes that the family is the natural agency whereby this world view can be brought into the experience of the young.

Peter L. Berger, in his contemporary book, A Rumor of Angels,[35] says that the "Death of God theology" which had a brief and short-lived history in the 1950's has not brought a satisfactory adjustment of Christianity to the actual or alleged world view of modernity. He says in essence that the death of God theology simply did not square with the reality that belief in some kind of supernatural being is still deeply rooted in the experience of humanity. He states that there is a need to believe but little hard evidence that people actually do believe in the kind of God described by institutional religion. Berger seeks to restructure a belief system in which the rumor of angels is

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[34]Thomas Luckmann, The Invisible Religion (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1967), p. 53.

[35]Peter L. Berger, A Rumor of Angels (New York: Doubleday, 1969).

substantiated. He says, "Theology must begin and end with the question of truth. My concern here has been with some possible methods of pursuing this question today."[36] Thus Berger joins with Robinson, Cox, Berton, and other contemporary writers in religion in exploring new ways of resolving the dilemma between institutionalism and religious experience.

Two religious sociologists at the University of California, Berkeley, have made significant contributions to the study of religiosity in a series of volumes produced through their Survey Research Center. In one of their earlier volumes, Religion and Society in Tension, they state the dilemma between ideals and practice in religion in these terms:

> In Judeo-Christian cultures, religion is expected to be at odds with the world around it, while the religious life must of course be lived in this world; it is not to be of it. . . . Thus, the churches seem to exist in a hostile and evil world and to have a sacred mission to renounce and resist matters of the flesh, for all this shall pass away. . . . But somehow religion seems rarely if ever to act upon these principles.[37]

Glock and Stark then proceed to set up five "dimensions of religiosity," and report on studies made with lay and clergy groups to establish the actual impact of religion in these areas of belief, practice, feeling, knowledge and effects or consequences. The authors conclude with the somewhat somber note: "Looking at American society as a whole, however, organized religion at present is neither a prominent witness to its own

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[36] Ibid., p. 123.

[37] Charles Glock and Rodney Stark, Religion and Society in Tension (Chicago: Rand, McNally, 1965), p. ix.

value system nor a major focal point around which norms, values and beliefs are formed."[38]

In the works described above, a particular theme emerges. Bonhoeffer, through his direct confrontation with Hitler, whom he considered to be an example of anti-Christ, was finally freed from the imprisoning Lutheran tradition that the church must always be subservient to the state. Robinson in England, Cox in America, and Berton in Canada, all developed the theme that institutional religion, because of its imprisonment either by the state or by economic and social forces, has lost its power to change society and even to affect the basic behavior of man. Their underlying theme is not that institutional religion should be reformed, but that it should and will give way to some new form of religion which they do not define.

Luckmann makes the bold claim that there will be a new kind of "invisible religion" which will perform the task of giving man a new world view. Berger emphasizes a somewhat similar theme and Glock and Stark contribute their sociological expertise to measuring the dimensions of religiosity.

Of special help to this study is a doctoral dissertation by Emmet Eklund entitled "Acculturation in the Swedish Lutheran Congregations of the Boston Area, 1867-1930."[39] While Eklund addresses himself to one small area, his study does provide insight into the whole matter of the change by the immigrant church to distinctively American patterns

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[38] Ibid., p. 184.

[39] Emmet Elvin Eklund, "Acculturation in the Swedish Lutheran Congregations of the Boston Area, 1867-1930" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Boston University, 1964).

of church life. Since the Boston area Augustana churches were the last group in the entire nation to make the transition, it is a helpful case study of the progress of the leadership involved and of the ways in which various congregations reacted to this acculturation.

In a foreword to a special edition of the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences under the general theme, "The Sixties: Radical Change in American Religion," James M. Gustafson, professor of Christian Ethics in the Department of Religious Studies in the Divinity School, Yale University, says: "In the decade of the 1950's, the religious revival in America crested and began to decline. In the decade of the 1960's, religion in America is in the state of radical change; indeed the word crisis is perhaps more appropriate with reference to religion than it is with reference to some other aspects of our culture and society."[40] Gustafson lists some of the evidences of this radical change which received wide press coverage in the sixties--the Vatican Council, clergy participation in the civil rights movement, the "Death of God" theology, the tensions between Christians and Jews after the June war, the involvement of religious leaders in the peace movement, the revolution in morality. He compares these examples of crisis to the more normal type of religious news stories such as assemblies of the World Council of Churches in Evanston and New Dehli, the death of Pope Pius XII, which were considered significant by the press in an earlier period.

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[40]James M. Gustafson, "The Sixties: Radical Change in American Religion," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, Vol. 387 (January 1970), p. ix.

Sydney E. Ahlstrom, Chairman of the American Studies Program, Yale University, characterizes the sixties as follows:

> There was a fundamental shift in American moral and religious attitudes. It is no accident that phrases such as post-puritan, post-Protestant, post-Christian, post-modern, and even post-historical were commonly used to describe the American scene. The decade of the 60's was a time in short when the old grounds of national confidence, patriotic idealism, moral traditionalism and even of historic Judeo-Christian theism were awash.[41]

James T. Laney, Dean and Professor of Christian Ethics, Candler School of Theology, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia, says that the 1960's were noted as "a period of iconoclasm in terms of Christian ethics." Laney sees Bonhoeffer as the prophet of the new morality which is based not on traditional authority but on the fact that "man has come of age." Laney says, "This traditional authority had meant that men's lives were to be lived 'for others in the style of Jesus.'" The new morality meant "dealing with persons in their present reality, with love, rather than seeing them as instances of acceptable or unacceptable behavior in the light of traditional rules and laws."[42]

The revolution in Lutheran ethics concerning war is perhaps most clearly emphasized by an article by Richard John Neuhaus, a pastor of the Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod, writing out of his own extensive background of protest against the Vietnam war. He says:

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[41]Sydney E. Ahlstrom, "The Radical Turn in Theology and Ethics: Why It Occurred in the 1960's," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 387 (January 1970), p. 3.

[42]James T. Laney, "The New Morality and the Religious Communities," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, Vol. 387 (January 1970), p. 15.

> It is overwhelmingly clear that American religion has not rallied to the flag in support of the Vietnam war. When the late Cardinal Spellman of New York described our armed forces in Vietnam as "soldiers of Christ" and declared himself in favor "of my country right or wrong," he was severely censured by most of the religious brass.[43]

Neuhaus goes on to say that the organization which he has headed, the Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam, numbers approximately 33,000. Other groups, such as the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Negotiation Now, National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, and denominational peace groups, may have a total of 40,000 clergy--about 10 percent of those in the United States--committed to some type of peace organization. He speculates realistically that of these 40,000 most active, perhaps 5 percent are directly involved in peace movements for Vietnam. While the numbers are comparatively small, it marks a significant change in traditional Protestant and especially Lutheran polity that clergy should take such an identified role in opposition to the official government policy on a war. Says Neuhaus:

> Such main line Protestant groups as the Lutherans, Presbyterians, American Baptists, United Church of Christ, and above all Roman Catholics have formed such radical blocs of black and white clergymen pushing their church for a change in the war and racism.[44]

Here then is a specific instance of a Lutheran pastor serving what is acknowledged to be the most traditional and conservative of all major Lutheran bodies in the United States actively leading a movement in opposition to the official policy of the government. This kind of

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[43]Richard John Neuhaus, "The War, The Churches, and Civil Religion," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, Vol. 387 (January 1970), p. 130.

[44]Ibid., p. 135.

radical change in pastoral concern is reported in some detail in subsequent chapters of this study.

The second Protestant Reformation which can be traced from Dietrich Bonhoeffer in terms of the new Protestant attitude toward the state and society has come full circle with a recent book by Harvey Cox, The Feast of Fools. In a chapter entitled, "In Praise of Festivity," which appeared in the Saturday Review of October 25, 1969, Cox describes the new Protestant ethic, not of work but of celebration.

> In Western civilization we have placed enormous emphasis on man as a worker (Luther and Marx) and man as a thinker (Aquinas and Descartes). This worker-thinker emphasis enforced by industrialization, ratified by philosophy, and sanctified by Christianity (Weber's Protestant Ethic) helped to produce the monumental achievement of Western science and industrial technology. But we have paid a price. We have exploited millions of other people in the undeveloped nations; we have ruined countless rivers and poisoned our atmosphere. We have also terribly poisoned the inter-experience of Western man. Man is essentially festive and fanciful. To become fully human, Western man, and his non-Western brothers insofar as they are touched by the same debilitation, must learn again to dance and to dream.[45]

Here then is a return to the much earlier Roman Catholic view that man's celebration can largely be expressed through his life as a Christian. Many of the elaborate folk festivals of the Roman Catholic church, particularly in Mediterranean areas, gave scope to man's delight in dance and song as well as supplying some kind of religious sanction to a folk holiday. But in the grim austerity of the Protestant tradition this sense of celebration has been all but lost. The new emphasis made by Cox and others would return us to the much earlier tradition of Christianity as a joyous experience.

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[45]Harvey Cox, "In Praise of Festivity," The Saturday Review, Vol. 52 (October 25, 1969), pp. 25-28.

Simultaneously, James Cone is sounding a call to Armageddon in his article, "Black Consciousness and the Black Church." In black theology as defined by Cone, "God is . . . identified with the liberation of the oppressed from earthly bondage. To know God is to encounter Him and the historical liberation process as experienced in the community of the oppressed. . . . The theme of liberation in the New Testament is present in the appearance of Jesus Christ (see Galatians 5:1, "For freedom Christ has set us free")." Unless the white and black churches alike recognize the distinctive mission of black Christianity, there will be a revolution, not of ideas, but of bloodshed. Cone quotes Eldredge Cleaver approvingly when he says, "We shall have our manhood. We shall have it or the earth will be leveled by our attempts to gain it."[46]

Nor is the Roman Catholic church, long the bulwark of dogmatism, untouched by change.

> While all of American religious life is undergoing sweeping change, the Roman Catholic Church, which held the line of the ecclesiastical tradition and theological conservatism more or less successfully between the Council of Trent and the 2nd Vatican Council is now caught in the greatest change of all.[47]

With this dramatic thesis, Joseph Fichter, highly regarded religious sociologist, begins to document how some of the sweeping changes affecting Catholicism have made their impact, especially in America. He points out that religious personnel decreased 5.6 percent between 1966 and

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[46]James Cone, "Black Consciousness and the Black Church: A Historical-Theological Interpretation," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, Vol. 387 (January 1970), pp. 51, 55.

[47]Joseph H. Fichter, "Catholic Church Professionals," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, Vol. 387 (January 1970), pp. 77-85.

1969, while the Catholic population increased by 3.5 percent. While the decline in priests has been most commented on in the press, Fichter notes that the greatest decline is actually among the religious women. There were 14,254 fewer American sisters in 1969 than in the peak year of 1966. Even more disturbing are Fichter's figures that the seminary population of priests has declined by 31 percent and that of religious orders has decreased by 35 percent since 1955. Fichter examines the reasons why priests and nuns are leaving their chosen vocations, listing celibacy as a principal cause in the case of priests. He says in conclusion:

> The youthful and decimated generation of trainees will unquestionably add a new dimension to the whole ecclesiastical profession of the future. They are no less spiritual, zealous and committed in their predecessor's work. They appear to be adaptive to sudden change and to accept the challenge of the more professional approach to the works of the new church.[48]

If the winds of change have been approaching gale force throughout the Roman Catholic communion, the Society of Jesus founded by Ignatius Loyola four centuries ago must surely be at the eye of the hurricane. John L'Heureux, himself a Jesuit and acting as a staff editor of the Atlantic Monthly, writes about "The New American Jesuits." Describing a group of Jesuits meeting for a private seminar to consider the changes in the organization, L'Heureux quotes one Jesuit as saying, "What we've really been saying is that we are fighting over the last deck chair on the Titanic."[49]

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[48] Ibid., p. 85.

[49] John L'Heureux, "The New American Jesuits," Atlantic Monthly, Vo. 224 (November 1969), pp. 59-64.

In 1957 the Jesuits held a congregation in Rome to attempt change within their organization. Pope Pius XII tried to stem the tide, and told them, "Either they remain as they are, or they cease to exist. Aware of their desire for a change, he gave them some advice: He told them to stop smoking."[50] But after ten years, definite changes had taken place: Latin had disappeared from the Jesuit seminary classroom; Jesuit theologians had formed consortiums with Jewish and Protestant theological schools; a Jesuit was chairman of Harvard's new Eastern Language and Literature Department, and another Jesuit was chairman of the Music Department. Further, Jesuits were in trouble with shadowy, undesignated people for fighting slum lords in Chicago, in trouble with chanceries throughout the country for advocating birth control; they were silenced for defying the redoubtable Cardinal O'Boyle and were jailed for defying the United States government.

What, then, will happen to the Jesuits? L'Heureux says:

> The American Jesuit wonders if changes perhaps come too late. The giant overhauling of the vast and powerful religious organization is possible, he knows, but how long will it take and what will be the concrete results. . . . Because the new American Jesuit is certain that whether or not change comes from above, the society of Jesus is going to be what he decides to make it.[51]

Jeffrey K. Hadden has described this gale force of change blowing throughout institutional Christianity in his widely read book, The Gathering Storm in the Churches. An excerpt from that book entitled "Clergy Involvement in Civil Rights" appeared in The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science for January 1970. Hadden's major thesis is summed up in these words:

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[50] Ibid., p. 61.

[51] Ibid., p. 64.

> Historically, the churches have been more on the side of the status quo than on the frontiers of change in the achievement of social justice. The occupants of the pews continue to resist change, but those that occupy the pulpits have, to a considerable degree, experienced a deepening commitment to an involvement in the struggle for social justice. This is leading to the deepest schism in the churches since the Protestant Reformation.[52]

Hadden quotes from studies by Kenneth Underwood, Glen Trimble and others to support his thesis that the clergy have become progressively more involved than the laity, which is the basic dilemma to be faced in the coming crisis of the American churches. He says that since 1963 there have been three events in which large numbers of clergy have participated--the civil rights march in Washington, D. C. in 1963; the Selma (Alabama) march in the spring of 1965; and in the spring of 1967, the clergy mobilization march on Washington of approximately 2,600 clergymen and seminary students to protest the Vietnam war. Hadden cites other activist instances in Cleveland and Chicago where large numbers of clergy were involved, and lists factors which enable clergy to take a stand for an action which may be greatly unpopular within their parishes. The first of these factors is a stance taken by the denomination, or, in the case of the Catholic priest, the position of his bishop. The second most critical factor is the type of position the clergyman occupies. Non-parish clergy are much more involved in direct protest and militant strategies than those clergy who serve a congregation. The third factor is the presence of group support. Often a protest will begin as a study by a group of concerned clergy, in a group and then the actual--often militant--action will follow. "In dozens of cases," he says, "studies indicate

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[52]Jeffrey K. Hadden, "Clergy Involvement in Civil Rights," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, Vol. 387 (January 1970), pp. 119-127, at p. 119.

that laity have become upset enough to dismiss their minister," and then says that often this is camouflaged under the general category of "neglecting their parish duties or some other similar charge."[53] Hadden concludes, "Clergy did much in the 1960's to aid institutional and legislative changes in the area of human rights. If the churches are to survive in the 1970's, the clergy must devote much more of their energies toward changing men's hearts."[54]

The works cited from the earlier period were chosen to establish the basic Lutheran clergy role of preacher-teacher. The later works (beginning with Bonhoeffer) show the role redefinition process under the pressure of social change.

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[53] Ibid., p. 125.

[54] Ibid., p. 127.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

This study began as an attempt to measure observed change in the clergy role of Lutheran ministers. Since this was to be a study of change, the basic research problem was the construction of measuring instruments to serve as a tool to measure the type of change and its impact on the clergymen directly affected and on their congregations.

The theoretical base was stated as follows: "Social change entails role changes and cognitive dissonance." To confirm cognitive dissonance here the study attempted to measure the difference between role ascription by local congregations and national church bodies, role perception by the clergy and the laity, and role performance by the clergy as seen by the laity.

The working assumption was defined in the following proposition: If there is a significant difference between clergy and laity in perception of the clergy role, there will be evidence of role strain on the part of both clergy and laity. The evidence of role strain will be measurable and will be of different types and degrees.

In order that this theoretical base might be further refined, the following testable hypotheses were formed as a result of observation of actual role changes among the clergy, group discussions with other clergy and lay leaders, factual material gathered from articles from

popular and professional journals and case studies of contemporary colleagues who were showing evidence of role strain. This continued refinement process led to three testable hypotheses.

1. Social change results in role changes among the clergy.
2. Role changes of the clergy lead to role stress among both clergy and lay leaders.
3. Role stress of the clergy will result in measurable response by the laity.

Modal Case Studies

As a means of establishing Lutheran clergy role definitions for the periods 1900-1920, 1920-1945, and 1945-1970, modal case studies of four representative Lutheran clergymen were developed. These modal case studies (in Chapters V, VI and VII) describe the impact of social change on the Lutheran clergy as shown by the response of the modal type clergy in the historical case studies. These historical case studies show how the modal type clergyman redefined his own role in response to social change.

Survey and Follow-up Inverviews

During the fall of 1968 the writer became involved in a continuing education project of the Community Mental Health Agency of Salt Lake City. Under the leadership of Dr. Marshall Perkins of the Community Health Center; Dr. Victor Cline of the Department of Psychology, University of Utah; The Rev. Horace McMullan, Minister of Holladay Community Church, United Church of Christ; and Father Fred Bennett, a

graduate student of the Department of Clinical Psychology of the University of Utah, a pilot project was planned to enable the clergy to take a short-term course in counseling through the Department of Continuing Education of the University of Utah. A series of letters, interviews and planning sessions resulted in an approval by the Department of Continuing Education at the University for a pilot project for Winter Quarter of 1969. Invitations were then sent through respective ecclesiastical channels to ordained clergymen of the Protestant and Catholic tradition and to bishops or stake officials of the L.D.S. Church. Thus a pilot group of fifteen men was enrolled in a course of counseling at the University of Utah in January 1969. At the close of this pilot project the writer was asked to prepare an evaluation tool. This evaluation sheet, which appears as Appendix A, was also a preliminary questionnaire to measure certain attitudes and changes of role by the clergy participating. Question 7, "My principle duties as a religious leader are," and Question 8, "Estimate the hours you spent last week on these activities," later appeared in a revised form in the completed questionnaire.

Preliminary tabulation showed that questions 7 and 8 produced a relatively high degree of agreement between Protestant and Catholic clergy and Latter-day Saints bishops. Question 8 indicated that pastors were either spending extraordinarily long hours in their pastoral duties or were overestimating the actual time spent for the performance of these particular duties. A further check-point was the highest level of completed academic study. The Protestants and Catholic clergy had finished four years of college, and three or four years of graduate

theological education. L.D.S. religious leaders showed a somewhat lower level of education.[1]

Tabulation of the preliminary questionnaire revealed that there was still a wide range of clergy duties which had not been measured and attitudes toward their work which had not been described in the preliminary instrument. Thus a second form, Appendix B, was prepared and tested with a representative group of Protestant, Catholic, and L.D.S. religious leaders in April of 1969.

Here an attempt was made for present-day clergy to measure the composite role of clergy at an earlier period. The period chosen here was 1900-1920. The trial run showed that the overwhelming number of those participating agreed with the designation of preacher-teacher-guardian of public and private morals.[2] A further question, No. 5, of the second questionnaire showed that an overwhelming number of the clergy agreed with the designation of preacher-teacher-administrator for the period 1920-1960. In the open-end portion of the question there was not enough agreement on any one particular role description to be able to catalog this as a valid alternate term.

The questions on rank of religious duties was retained as well as a new attempt to describe attitude toward the ministry as "satisfied," "very satisfied," "moderately satisfied," and so forth. A further attempt at placing clergy in a stratified sample was to ask them to list the type of community their congregation represented.

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[1]See Appendix A.

[2]See Appendix B.

An attempt had been made on the earlier questionnaire to maintain an open-end type of question, as for example question 11 of Appendix B, "Describe below an ideal clergyman for your denomination"; No. 12, "What is your actual evaluation of how you perform as a clergyman?"; No. 16, "The greatest change that has occurred in my performance of my duties in the last five years is"; and No. 17, "I feel that in the future a clergyman should make the following changes in his role." Tabulation of these open-end questions revealed that the questionnaire was too long, requiring on the average more than an hour for completion. Experience had shown that questionnaires requiring that kind of time are not practical. On the basis of the pretest which included Lutheran clergy of the American Lutheran Church as well as the Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod, certain revisions were made in the questionnaire.

At this point it was felt important to check the developing research instrument with a panel of experts. The two chosen were both clinical psychologists who had wide experience in the Protestant church and with parish pastors. The first expert used on a consultant basis was the Rev. Thomas Jackson of the First Presbyterian Church, Salt Lake City, Utah, who had completed an extensive graduate program in Stanford University in clinical psychology and had functioned for a number of years as a clinical psychologist in a hospital setting. On the basis of his observations, certain adjustments were made in defining the periods which marked each phase of clergy role. The period between 1900 and 1920 was chosen as a time in which there had been relatively little change in the clergy role, actually reflecting its late nineteenth century counterpart. The second period was defined as being between the end of the

first World War and up to and including the second World War, a time in which considerable development and change in the clergy role had been observed. The third period, 1945-1970, covered the post-war changing society with particular emphasis on the last five years.

The second consultant was a person well informed in the actual role performance of the clergy and an expert in the field of questionnaire construction. This was Dr. Barbara Varenhorst, a clinical psychologist, who is serving as a consultant to the School District of Palo Alto, California. She is an active communicant of Immanuel Lutheran Church of Los Altos and has served on a number of synodical committees including the committee on Church Vocations. Dr. Varenhorst and the writer explored the whole matter of the clergy's aversion to administrative aspects of parish life and fund-raising. This led to certain changes in the intermediate instrument which were then incorporated into the final questionnaire used for the study of clergy and lay delegations in the Pacific Southwest Synod. With the refinement proposed by these two experts in clinical psychology, the final questionnaire which appears as Appendix C was then prepared.

In the meantime permission had been secured from the president and the administrative staff of the Pacific Southwest Synod of the Lutheran Church in America to submit an approved questionnaire to the clergy and lay delegates to the Synod on May 19, 1969. A special visit was made to the Synodical Office in Los Angeles. A tentative outline of the research tool which was then basically Instrument 2 was presented for their approval. It was clearly stated by the president, Dr. Carl Segerhammar, that while he had no objection to the survey, he would

announce that this was a research project of the writer and that while the results would have value to the church, the participation by clergy and lay delegates was to be entirely voluntary. In order to tie in the research project with an already established committee of the church, the writer then called the chairman of the Committee on Church Vocations, the Rev. Walter W. Werronen, Pastor of the Lutheran Church of the Cross in Berkeley, California, to ask permission to meet with the committee in order to present the research instrument and request its approval by that committee for submission to the entire delegation. Werronen agreed and a special trip was made to Palo Alto, California, in early May of 1969 to carry out this plan.

The committee approved the questionnaire in its final form as a research tool, and authorized the writer to present it as a research project of this established committee, which in turn provided the necessary support of the church to the research project.

In working out arrangements with the Synod staff, the following procedures were agreed upon: (1) the President of the Church would announce to the Synod that the research project was approved by the Committee on Church Vocations and would be offered to those who wanted to participate; (2) the announcement would be made at the close of the first day of business so that the normal business of the convention would not be impeded by the filling out of the questionnaire; (3) participation by clergy and lay delegates would be entirely voluntary.

Opportunity was given at the close of the business day on Monday, May 19, 1969, to present the questionnaire to some three hundred members of the delegation of the Pacific Southwest Synod of the Lutheran Church

in America at their convention held at the International Hotel, Los Angeles, California.

In order to insure the highest possible rate of return, the following procedure was adopted: A strong plea was made by the writer to indicate the serious attempt being made to measure the stress factors and the role strain which seemingly had developed among parish clergy. Lay people were particularly challenged to respond to this type of survery in order that lay leaders of the church would also be sharing in the research project and in the study as it developed further. A promise was made that at least preliminary results of the survey would be shared with the Synod delegation at a subsequent meeting.

The questionnaires were then distributed to 289 delegates who were in attendance at that particular session (the number was established by the number of ballots cast on a motion just prior to distribution of the questionnaire). Since previous experience of the writer and other researchers had shown that mail questionnaires to the clergy produced a disappointing response, the proposal to the convention delegates was that the questionnaires be completed at the close of the session and deposited in boxes immediately outside the convention door. Several assistants were secured who manned boxes marked "survey" outside of the three major exits of the convention hall. By standing visibly as a reminder of the survey and encouraging those who carried completed surveys in their hands to place them in the boxes, a very high rate of return was secured. Ninety-four percent of those attending the session completed questionnaires and placed them in boxes for tabulation. By way of comparison, of the approximately 40 questionnaires that were

taken by delegates to their rooms, supposedly to be completed there, only two were completed and sent in by mail at a later time.

Tabulation, particularly on the table of duties as seen by the pastors, was checked against other studies made earlier by Lutherans and other Protestants to discover if the pattern were consistent with other findings (see Chapter VIII).

At this point, conversation with other clergy and lay leaders who had taken the questionnaire revealed that certain emotional attitudes and feelings were not being explored by this type of survey instrument. In further consultation with leaders of the Synod, the proposal was made by the writer and accepted by Synod officials that some type of follow-up survey tool be used at the pastoral conference to be held at Asilomar, California, in September of 1969. In the meantime, portable tape recorders had been secured; and at the pastoral conference in September 1969, a stratified sample of pastors by age, by graduate study, by race, and by type of parish served was interviewed. This sampling was chosen to represent age brackets 20-29, 30-39, 40-49, 50-59, 60-70 which corresponded with the stratification of the sample used for tabulating the questionnaire. In addition a black pastor from South America, educated, ordained, and serving in the United States was also interviewed.

In order to measure the changing role of the parish clergy as seen by top administrative officials of the church, the President of the Lutheran Church in America, Dr. Robert J. Marshall, was interviewed, as was Dr. Carl Segerhammar, the Synod president.

In these interviews such open-end questions were asked as "What are the frustrations you feel in the ministry?" "How would you

advise a young person going into the ministry?" "What are the major changes you have seen in the Lutheran clergy role in the last five years?" "What particular changes have you noticed in your own role in the last five years?" and "What frustrations do you see among your lay people as you work with them?"

The questionnaires had revealed a particular kind of information corresponding to information secured earlier by other researchers. However, the use of the taped interview was a means to explore a kind of emotional attitude and to measure the level of frustration and role strain factors which were not possible to discern in the answers to the formalized questionnaire. These clergy were articulate men who had been trained, some of them for a considerable number of years, in oral expression. Thus the questions were short and broad and the responses were full and comprehensive, often marked by deep emotion.

A further development of the research method was to interview a group of pastors who had left the active parish ministry, some of them under great strain, and were now on the official status of "awaiting call." Since these pastors had secured secular employment and showed no immediate signs of returning to the parish ministry, it was thought that this sampling of men would provide a new dimension to the study as it would show the attitudes of a group of dissident clergy with particular grievances against the church establishment and would reveal particular problems encountered in the parish. This smaller sampling was secured with the help of the Synodical Office, and four such parish clergy were interviewed in a period of time ranging from November 1969 to January 1970.

As a follow-up tool, two survey instruments were used to measure the interest of Lutheran clergy in (1) continuing educational experiences, (2) a program of continuing education which they would like to participate in during the next three years, and (3) special fields of interest in continuing education. A follow-up study for lay delegates was also used.

Securing an Adequate Sample

A major question had to be faced in the study: Is the sample of Lutheran clergy and lay leaders representative? In order to secure the largest possible participation, the sampling was taken at an annual convention which is the highest authority of the Pacific Southwest Synod of the Lutheran Church in America. Since the survey was completed by 94 percent of those attending the session and the distribution between clergy and lay was in the same ratio as those attending the convention, the assumption has been made that the sampling was truly representative of the clergy and lay leadership of the Pacific Southwest Synod.

Lay delegates to the Synod convention are elected by the church councils of the respective congregations. Thus the lay delegates are a part of the leadership structure of the congregations and would be somewhat better informed and have a more clear-cut picture of the clergy role than would a random sampling of the congregations. The high educational level of the lay sampling, including 94 college graduates and 18 with advanced degrees, was also indicative of the high level of understanding of the clergy role by leaders of parishes. Thus the high percentage of those lay delegates in attendance who participated in the survey, the selection process of the lay delegates by vote of councils

of congregations to secure their highest level of lay representation and the high educational level of lay delegates participating would seem to insure that the lay delegates would have a clear understanding of the clergy role.

In addition to Dr. Robert Marshall, the President of the Lutheran Church in America, and Dr. Carl Segerhammar, the President of the Pacific Southwest Synod, prominent Lutheran professors were interviewed. These include Dr. Martin Marty, professor of history of the University of Chicago; Dr. Charles Glock, sociologist, of the University of California, Berkeley; and Dr. Hagen Staack of the Department of Religion, Muhlenberg College of Allentown, Pennsylvania.

Placed last in this particular review of methodology, but of prime importance to this writer because of motivation, was the comprehensive examination of the papers of his father, The Rev. O. Birger Nelson, a retired Lutheran clergyman, who died in September 1968. Going through his personal papers and diaries, the record of a half-century of service in the Lutheran Church, was an experience of reliving an era of church history. This journey of discovery into the past and the particular families ties served as a powerful stimulus to set in motion the research project which has led to this particular study. It was augmented, of course, by the historical and social psychological study of the material described in Chapter III.

Summary

Based upon a broad historical and sociological study of the role definition process as described in the historical case studies of

the modal clergymen in three time periods, the methodology included building of a survey instrument in three stages. The first instrument was tested as a pilot project with clergy of three traditions--Protestant, Catholic and Latter-day Saints--in March 1969. A second and revised instrument was tested with a group of Protestant, Catholic and Lutheran clergy in April 1969. When this second instrument was reviewed by a panel of experts, it was further revised and became the instrument which was used for the survey of the clergy and lay delegates of the Pacific Southwest Synod of the Lutheran Church in May 1969.

Follow-up interviews with a stratified sample of clergy leaders acted as a means of testing the inner attitudes of the clergy toward role stress that had been revealed in the survey instrument. This section immediately follows the analysis of the data in Chapter VIII.

Permission to use the survey instrument was obtained through personal interviews with the President of the Pacific Southwest Synod, Dr. Carl Segerhammar, and his staff prior to the convention. Attempts were made to secure a high rate of return on the survey by distributing the questionnaires at a closing session of a church convention and making it easy for respondents to place the completed survey instruments in boxes as they left the convention auditorium.

Follow-up procedures included: (1) a series of taped interviews with clergy of the Pacific Southwest Synod; (2) interviews with Lutheran experts in the field of the changing clergy role; and (3) two follow-up instruments, one for clergy and one for lay delegates at the convention of the Pacific Southwest Synod held in May 1970. By these means an

attempt has been made to secure an adequate body of data. Tests for reliability included field testing of the original questionnaire, and its clarification by a panel of experts. As a test for validity, a follow-up interview program was carried out. These interviews measured feelings more fully through free-flow association. The interview technique was to supply broad and general questions and allow for complete range of freedom in the respondents' answers.

Of particular interest was the interview with one of the clergy while he was still in the active parish ministry, and a follow-up interview within a week after he had left the parish ministry and taken up his new role as one of the developing "tentmaker clergy." Data were also secured from an Episcopal priest who is currently functioning in a "tentmaker" role.

The methodology used in this study followed the pattern of historical case studies: to establish Lutheran clergy role definitions for three historical periods; to develop and use testing instruments to measure the impact of social change on the clergy role; to follow-up with interviews designed to measure attitudes and feelings toward changes in the clergy role. Studies of representative clergymen follow in Chapters V, VI and VII).

CHAPTER V

THE ROLE OF THE LUTHERAN CLERGY, 1900-1920

Introduction

Starting with Chapter V and continuing through Chapters VI and VII, historical case studies of four representative Lutheran clergymen are presented to illustrate the impact of social change on clergy role redefinition. These historical case studies cover the periods 1900-1920, 1920-1945, and 1945-1970.

On September 16, 1968, the Rev. O. Birger Nelson, retired Lutheran clergyman, died. On September 20 he was buried from Zion Lutheran Church, Salt Lake City, Utah. The President of the Pacific Southwest Synod of the Lutheran Church in America flew in from San Francisco to conduct the funeral service. Lutheran pastors of the Salt Lake area formed a pastor's chorus to sing well-loved hymns, "Children of the Heavenly Father" and "Faith of Our Fathers," as a memorial tribute. These twelve Lutheran pastors, most of them in their early thirties and forties, acted as pall-bearers as the casket was laid to rest with the ancient ceremony, "For as much as it hath pleased the Almighty God of his great mercy, to take unto himself the soul of our brother; we therefore commit his body to the ground; earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust, in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life through our Lord Jesus Christ. . . ."[1]

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[1] Service Book and Hymnal (Rock Island, Ill.: Augustana Book Concern, 1958), p. 268.

So ended the life of a pioneer Lutheran clergyman who had lived through nearly a century of astonishing change in the Lutheran Church in America. He is the modal clergyman chosen to exemplify the clergy role in the period 1900-1920.

O. Birger Nelson was born in Sweden on April 3, 1881. While still a small boy, he emigrated with his parents to Varna, Illinois, a small village about one hundred miles from Chicago. Here the family eked out a precarious living. The main source of income was the cutting and sale of wooden ties which were used in the local coal mines. The young lad spent his boyhood in hard, manual labor to supplement an income that barely managed to keep the family in essentials. When he showed some academic promise in the local village school, he was sent by his parents at great personal sacrifice to a church academy (high school), then to Augustana College in Rock Island, Illinois, and finally, when he experienced a "call," to Augustana Seminary to complete his theological education. He was ordained in June 1910 during the great festivity of the "Jubilee Year" which marked the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Augustana Synod in 1860. Young Pastor Nelson accepted a call to Little Falls, Minnesota, where one of his parishoners was the father of Charles Augustus Lindberg, who later won fame as the Lone Eagle.

Role Ascription

During these halcyon days prior to the first World War, a Lutheran pastor serving a Swedish immigrant congregation had a clearly defined role. He was called to "preach the word and administer the sacrament." In carrying out these prime duties, he was expected to use the "mother tongue," the Swedish language. He conducted the worship

services according to the tradition of the Church of Sweden in the simple wooden churches which were characteristic of that time. He also knew that he was called to baptize infants, to visit the sick, to comfort the dying, and bury the dead; to marry couples who came to him usually only a day or two before the intended marriage service; to visit the members of his parish frequently either by walking to their homes or by driving a rented horse and buggy; to conduct a monthly or semi-monthly ladies' aid meeting; to attend and preside at ice cream socials and other church meetings and to be the shepherd of his flock. That was in 1910.

Role Redefinition

During the first decade of his ministry from 1910 to 1920, the Rev. O. Birger Nelson aligned himself with those forces in his church advocating such sweeping changes as the conducting of services in the English language, a greater emphasis on youth work, the simplification of catechetical studies--notably the teaching of the catechism in English--and greater lay responsibility.

During the middle period of his ministry from 1920 to 1945, he found himself moving away from the forefront of those forces advocating social change and well into a middle ground; and finally, toward the end of the period, he aligned himself with the "rear guard" of the forces resisting change in the church. While his fellow pastors were adopting the techniques of the business world in terms of building office staffs with modern equipment, using the hard sell in recruiting new members, conducting extensive fund-raising campaigns for new church buildings, O. Birger Nelson continued his emphasis upon "preaching the word and

administering the sacraments." He took great pride in his ability to preach clear, sound and doctrinally explicit sermons. During this period he was also in the forefront of those who conducted "evangelistic meetings," a technique used by the then number one evangelist in the Protestant tradition, Billy Sunday. Not for Nelson were the efficiency of a well-appointed office and the elaborate administrative procedures of the big city parish. His ministry with one exception was always in the village and rural parishes of Illinois, Indiana and Minnesota.

Historical Perspective

O. Birger Nelson, the seventh of nine children, was baptized in a parish church of the Church of Sweden in May 1882. What kind of church received this infant? The Church of Sweden is one of the churches of Europe which has evolved from its Catholic roots into a distinctive type of national or folk church. Christianity came to Sweden in the early eleventh century. While there are some doubts as to who actually was the first Christian missionary to Sweden, it is clear that the See of Skara was established in 1020, A.D. and we may date the beginning of institutional Christianity from that time.

The Lutheran Reformation came to Sweden in 1527 when the Riksdag of Vesteras voted to disestablish the Roman Catholic Church of that nation. Says Bishop John Wordsworth:

> At Vesteras a large measure of disestablishment and disendowment was carried after a struggle, and a general though indefinite liberty of preaching was conceded to the reformers, but no mention was made of Lutheran or Lutheranism. . . . It was not until the Upsala-Mote of 1593 that any Lutheran formula was accepted by the whole Church of Sweden, and the name "Lutheran," though in common use, is not official.[2]

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[2]John Wordsworth, The National Church of Sweden (London: A. R. Mowbray Ltd., 1911), pp. 194-195.

An extraordinary characteristic of the Lutheran Reformation was the continuity of the bishops. At least one of them, Petrus Magni, was confirmed and consecrated in Rome by Clement VII on the first of May, 1524. According to Bishop Wordsworth, this is "a fact very important for Sweden since through him the apostolic succession was maintained and transmitted at this critical epoch in its history."[3] It is important to note that the Church of Sweden, like the Church of Norway, the Church of Denmark, and the Church of Finland, was a truly national church in which the existing church structure with its bishops and archbishops transferred with a relatively easy struggle from the Roman Catholic tradition to the Lutheran tradition without loss of continuity. Young Nelson then was baptized into a truly national church (ekklesia). While there were small, dissident groups, the Church of Sweden in 1880 served the overwhelming majority of the Swedes.

Secondly, the Church of Sweden was strongly confessional. It had accepted the historic positions of the Lutheran Church in 1593 and preserved its connection with Lutheranism through the centuries since. Finally, it was in 1880 strongly influenced by a pietistic and even puritan movement led by a lay preacher, Rosenius (1816-1868).

A contemporary Lutheran scholar, Dr. G. Everett Arden, calls Rosenius "one of the great religious leaders in the history of the Swedish people."[4] Many of the immigrants who came to America in the last decades of the nineteenth century were strongly influenced by his particular emphasis on personal salvation. To Rosenius:

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[3] Ibid., p. 196.

[4] G. Everett Arden, Augustana Heritage (Rock Island, Ill.: Augustana Book Concern, 1963), p. 8.

> He who believes in Jesus Christ and trusts in him for the forgiveness of sins is saved from the bondages of sin and is set free for service in God's kingdom. Such service involves the concern for the spiritual and temporal welfare of the neighbor and sanctifies every human relationship with the loving spirit of Jesus.[5]

Swedish Lutherans in America--The Augustana Synod

When Birger Nelson's family brought him to the United States in 1883, they immediately joined a village church in Varna, Illinois, which was a part of the Augustana Synod. This Synod had been organized as a coalition of Scandinavian Lutherans--Swedish and Norwegian--in Jefferson Prairie, Wisconsin, on June 5, 1860. This church body was composed of 49 congregations of which 36 were Swedish and 13 Norwegian with a combined membership of 4,967.

The Augustana Synod was founded at a time of great national crisis just before the Civil War when the climate in the Lutheran churches was also at a point of fateful decision. The "American Lutheranism" of the German churches led by Samuel Schmucker, centering largely in Pennsylvania and organized into the General Synod, had advocated in essence that Lutherans in America adopt the tradition and practices of other Protestants. In general, "American Lutheranism" meant a type of revivalism and emphasis upon "good works" rather than confessional and doctrinal loyalties.

At the same time the recent immigrants first from Germany following the revolutions of 1848 and later from Scandinavia were influenced by two strong advocates of historical and confessional Lutheranism. These

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[5] Ibid.

two men, Carl F. W. Walther (1811-1887) and Charles P. Krauth (1823-1883), each in his own way advocated a return to the strongly confessional position of European Lutherans. Says Sydney Ahlstrom:

> Walther's influence was especially significant in that he stood almost alone in the nineteenth century American theological scene as one fully aware of the crucial importance of the problems of Law and Gospel to the Christian faith. In his insistence on their importance, he anticipates the emphasis of Karl Barth and the Luther renaissance of the next century. . . .
>
> Krauth's chief literary labor, a massive treatise on The Conservative Reformation and Its Theology (1871) was at once a summary of his life and the century's most influential Lutheran doctrinal work of native American authorship. . . . He sought to show that the issue was then, as it still remains, between conservative reformation and revolutionary radicalism. With great felicity and persuasiveness he brought to an English-speaking audience his vast erudition and the minute knowledge of an immense body of German scholarship. The second part was a cogent defense of the specific theology of the Conservative Reformation especially on original sin, Christology, baptism, and above all, The Lord's Supper. To Krauth a confession was not only a doctrinal norm but a kind of doxology, a witness, a hymn of praise, an affirmation that took on a liturgical quality traditionally invoked and in and through the Apostle and Nicene Creed.[6]

By way of summary, Ahlstrom says:

> In any estimate of the structuring and re-formation of American Lutheranism during the post-civil war decades, Krauth's magnum opus must be recognized as a milestone, just as Walther's persistent hammering must be seen as an indirect pressure even on men such as Krauth. In the long run, the influence of both men no less in the kindred efforts of theologians and scholars in other synods, has extended far beyond the borders of the Lutheran Church.[7]

What kind of church was organized in the simple, frame chapel in Jefferson Prairie, Wisconsin, on June 5, 1860? According to Arden,

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[6]Sydney E. Ahlstrom, "Theology in America: A Historical Survey," in Vol. I, The Shaping of American Religion, in the series, Religion in American Life, ed. by James Ward Smith and A. Leland Jamison (2 vols.; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), p. 277.

[7]Ibid., p. 279.

it was a church that was "concerned about preserving and transmitting their /the Swedes'/ own unique religious and spiritual heritage."[8] This heritage was to be strongly confessional. The second article of the Augustana Synod constitution read:

> Article II. As a Christian body in general, and particularly as evangelical Lutheran, this synod acknowledges that the Holy Scriptures, the revealed Word of God, are the only sufficient and infallible rule and standard of faith and practice, and also retains and confesses not only the three oldest symbols (the Apostolic, the Nicene and the Athanasian), but also the unaltered Augsburg Confession as a short and correct summary of the principal Christian doctrines, understood as developed and explained in the other Symbolical books of the Lutheran Church. This article shall never be altered.[9]

Clergy Role Definition--1860

In addition to establishing a firm conservative theological basis for the new church, the constituting convention at Jefferson Prairie took two further significant actions. It established a theological seminary and it created an agency for carrying on home missions. In a separate constitution for the home mission activity of the church, the role of its pastor-missionaries was clearly defined.

Section 3, Article I, states:

> It shall be the duty of the board to see to it that our widely scattered countrymen are provided with the preaching of the Word and the administration of the Sacraments and for that purpose call and commission itinerant preachers, catechists, and colporteurs, determine their salaries and field of labor and receive and disburse funds for both home and foreign missions.[10]

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[8] Arden, op. cit., p. 76.

[9] Ibid., p. 86.

[10] Ibid., p. 130.

Here is a clear definition of the pastor's primary duties, the preaching of the Word and the administration of the Sacraments. Another broad responsibility was also recognized as being of primary importance. The Lutheran Church which began in a university has always emphasized the teaching ministry of its clergy. This was spelled out as early as 1853 when at a meeting of the Mississippi Conference the following resolution was passed: "That pastors zealously conduct catechetical instruction among the youth, especially confirmation instruction, using 'Luther's Small Catechism" and such portions of the "Large Catechism' as may seem most practicable. . . ."[11] A report made to the founding synod in 1860 shows that there were twenty-nine Sunday schools, eighteen parochial schools, and that fifteen congregations maintained both Sunday and parochial schools.[12]

In acknowledging the authority of the Augsburg Confession of 1530 on an equal basis with the ancient Christian creed, the Augustana Synod marked itself as being distinctively Lutheran. The Augsburg Confession defines the ministry of the church (Article V) as follows:

> For the obtaining of this faith, the ministry of teaching the Gospel and administering the Sacraments was instituted.
> For by the Word and Sacraments as by instruments, the Holy Spirit is given: "Who work of faith, where and when it pleased God, and those that hear the Gospel, to witness that God, not for our merit's sake but for Christ's sake, doth justify those who believe that they for Christ's sake are received into favor.[13]

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[11] Ibid., p. 145.

[12] Ibid., p. 105.

[13] George W. Forell, The Protestant Faith (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1960), p. 258.

Article VII also deals with the nature of the church and the role of the clergy.

> Also they teach that one Holy Church is to continue forever. But the Church is the congregation of saints in which the Gospel is rightly taught and clearly preached and the Sacraments rightly administered according to the Gospel.[14]

Thus in a small rural church area, isolated from the main centers of American life as the nation was divided by Civil War, the Augustana Synod took its stand with Martin Luther and with the Apostles for conservative, confessional Christianity. The duties of its pastors began with the preaching of the Word, the administration of the Sacraments, and the teaching of the doctrines of the Lutheran Church. Other duties would be added but these were primary.

The Role of the Lutheran Clergy--1900-1920

Preacher

In his classic work, The Lutheran Pastor, G. H. Gerberding describes the importance of preaching to the Lutheran pastor in these words:

> In considering the general work of the pastor, viewed as the head or leader of the congregation, we must give a special place to his public functions in the sanctuary. It is here before the assembled congregation that he stands forth as the episcopos, the overseer and the spiritual leader and guide of the whole flock. . . . The most important of all of his public acts is the preaching of the Word. It is here, in his pulpit, that he can in a peculiar manner feel himself doing the work of Him who was anointed to preach good tidings to the meek, to bind up the broken hearts, to proclaim liberty to the captives and the opening of the prison to them that are bound. . . .[15]

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[14] Ibid., p. 259.

[15] G. H. Gerberding, The Lutheran Pastor (Philadelphia : Lutheran Publication Society, 1902), p. 273.

In his chapter on "The Pastor in the Pulpit," Gerberding gives a seven-point program for adequate preparation and delivery of the sermon. In addition to the traditional admonitions of early preparation and biblical foundation, he adds the eminently practical advice for that day when the Lutheran pastor's congregation was composed largely of immigrants:

> Use the simplest Saxon words; put them in short sentences. . . . This is of special importance to the English-Lutheran pastor. Many of his hearers have only an elementary knowledge of English. They know only the everyday language. We must speak to them in the language of the street, the shop, and the home.[16]

The architecture of the Lutheran churches built in the middle nineteenth and early twentieth centuries reflected the importance of the preaching office. Says a contemporary writer:

> The pulpit was generally placed in the very center of the platform, the focal point of the room, with an inconspicuous table /the altar/ placed at the floor level at the foot of the pulpit. . . . These free church chapels had at least this in common with the Puritans, that the exposition of the Word, the office of preaching was pre-eminent and the pulpit, therefore, overshadowed the altar.[17]

A diary kept by O. Birger Nelson in the mid-point of his ministry illustrates his life-long devotion to the primacy of preaching. Only a major interruption such as a death in the parish or a critical illness of a parishoner would keep him from his accustomed routine of starting his sermon on Tuesday morning. Almost without exception his diary entries on Tuesday mention "work on my sermon for Sunday." His practice

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[16] Ibid., p. 287.

[17] Arden, op. cit., p. 198.

then was to continue studying until Thursday or Friday and invariably the sermon was completed by noon on Friday.[18]

Teacher

When Birger Nelson accepted his first call to Little Falls, Minnesota, and began his ministry, he clearly understood his role as teacher. The Augsburg Confession, the basic doctrinal statement of the Lutheran Church, had listed teaching as a primary responsibility of the church to communicate the Gospel to believers. Every Lutheran constitution whether it be of congregation, synod or institution, would have provision for "the teaching of the Word." The primary textbook for instruction of the young was Luther's Small Catechism written in 1529 and translated into the various languages of the national churches of Europe which accepted the Lutheran Reformation. Since confirmation was a rite, not a sacrament, it was not surrounded with the same ceremony as was Baptism and Holy Communion. However, it was a responsibility the Lutheran pastor took seriously. In The Lutheran Pastor, Gerberding devotes a full chapter to the pastor in his role as catechist. In describing confirmation he says,

> We shall consider it in the comprehensive sense, as including instruction, confession and the laying on of hands. But we are not writing a system of catechistics. We shall call attention merely to a few points of vital importance in the pastor's public work.[19]

Gerberding followed traditional Lutheran practice when he said,

> What, then, is it that we are to teach in order to obtain this end in the catechumen? To ask the question seems

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[18]For example, Nelson, Diary, 1940, Tuesday, February 4.

[19]Gerberding, op. cit., p. 304.

> superfluous. To a Lutheran it answers itself. The living and life-giving Word must be taught.[20]

Thus to the Lutheran pastor the basic text was Luther's Small Catechism of 1529 in the native language of his people, which in the case of O. Birger Nelson was Swedish.

It is at this point that the young Lutheran pastor of 1910, whether Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, Finnish, or German, would run into a serious conflict in terms of the whole process of acculturation. The Swedish immigrants and those from other Lutheran lands traditionally took with them three books from the homeland--the Bible, Luther's Small Catechism, and the hymn book or song book from their home church. These three basic books of the faith were always in their native language. It was natural for them to want their children to be instructed in the faith and confirmed in the language of what was to them "the homeland." A number of younger pastors of whom the Rev. Nelson was one began early to offer instruction in English as well as in Swedish. This led to serious controversy. Gerberding refers to this when he says, writing at the beginning of the twentieth century when the language controversy was approaching a climax,

> . . . the vexing language question plays its part. We would by no means rob the saints from the Fatherland of their mother-tongue in the sanctuary. It would be a grievous sin to take this from them. But, as we have affirmed above, the children and children's children cannot have the same love for the old language, their mother tongue is English. They should have their religious instruction in the language which they best understand.[21]

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[20] Ibid., p. 310.

[21] Ibid., p. 326.

Although the immigrants of the late nineteenth and beginning twentieth century still regarded Swedish (Norwegian, Danish, etc.) as their mother tongue, the move toward instruction in English had actually begun far earlier. A legendary figure of the middle nineteenth century, Elling Eilsen, is reported to have walked from Fox River, Wisconsin, to New York City in 1841 to order English catechisms for use among Norwegian immigrants in the Upper Midwest. He says, "Some parents agreed that the children should be taught Christian truth but were unwilling that it be done in the Norwegian language. Therefore, an English version of the catechism is a necessity." This prompted the trip to New York. He explained that he obtained the assistance of a believing friend to translate those parts of the catechism which American Lutherans had not included in their version. A photostat of the catechism which Eilsen used shows that it was printed at 176 Bowery, 1841.[22]

But confirmation to the Lutheran pastor of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was more than an educational process. Gerberding points out the unique goals of confirmation when he says: "The true aim and end of all catechetical instruction in the Sunday School, in the family, and especially in the pastor's class should ever be a pertinent, believing and loving heart in each catechumen."[23] This was

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[22]E. Clifford Nelson and Eugene L. Fevold, The Lutheran Church Among Norwegian-Americans (2 vols.; Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1960), p. 78.

[23]Gerberding, op. cit., p. 308.

the attitude of the Lutheran pastor, unlike that of his Protestant contemporaries who accepted various forms of the revival meeting.[24]

Here then was the goal--an adolescent child who had been baptized as an infant, received perhaps sporadic instruction in the Sunday school, was now to be brought to full adult faith through the confirmation training period. It is no wonder that in the same chapter Gerberding complains about the high loss rate among catechumens who somehow failed to perform the miracle of moving from a child's experience of God to a full, mature Christian life during the severe confirmation training!

What were these confirmation sessions like? The writer vividly remembers his own confirmation training experience in the village church in Cannon Falls, Minnesota. His father, the catechist, was then in his mid-50's but had continued the practice of his early years in which confirmation was a valued part of his ministry. The classes invariably met on Saturday morning and lasted for two-and-a-half to three hours. Promptly at 9:30, the Rev. Nelson would enter, clad in a sober dark suit which was the usual garb of the Lutheran minister on week days. After roll call he would quickly go into the lesson of the day which was usually the memorization of a portion of Luther's Small Catechism. Here he insisted on an absolute literal recitation of Luther's classic explanation of the Apostles Creed, the Ten Commandments, The Lord's Prayer, Baptism and Holy Communion. Following the recitation in which admonitions were given to those whose memorization was poor, the class moved to vigorous

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[24]Perry Miller, "From the Covenant to the Revival," in Vol. I, The Shaping of American Religion, in the series, Religion in American Life, ed. by James Ward Smith and A. Leland Jamison (2 vols.; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), pp. 364ff.

Bible study, usually of one of the Gospels or one of the shorter Epistles. After a brief recess, there was a third session of instruction called Bible History. Here literal Biblical stories of creation and the flood, the patriarchs, and a brief summary of the life of Christ were taught based on the accounts in the scriptures. Just before noon, when the children were weary and longing for the freedom of Saturday afternoon, the class was dismissed. Periods of instruction began in October and lasted until Palm Sunday, or, in some cases, until Pentecost. Many members of the class had had no previous contact with the church since the time of baptism. These sometimes large, ungainly farm youths came in, almost illiterate, having completed perhaps a few grades of public school, and were always welcomed if they submitted to the strenuous discipline of the confirmation training.

Confirmation Day was a happy experience in the parish. The boys, attired in new suits, and the girls in new white dresses, often made by their proud mothers, were ushered to the front of the church and seated in a semi-circle facing the altar and the confirming pastor. At the close of an exhortation to be faithful to their vows, the young people knelt at the altar rail and were confirmed by the "laying on of hands." Then either at that service or sometimes in the evening, they received Holy Communion. This was a memorable experience in the life of a young person: after the long period of intense instruction, a rite of reception into the church and one of the two principal sacraments, often in the same day.

Of course, there were other teaching duties in the life of a Lutheran pastor. Bible study on Sunday morning or sometimes on a week

night, was the usual practice in most Lutheran churches in the period 1900-1920. Emphasis here was on New Testament teaching, especially the Gospels, but often a pastor would take his class into one of the Old Testament books, particularly the first five books of Moses or one of the prophets. Unlike other Protestant faiths which considered the revival the major method of bringing adherents into the church, the Lutheran Church of that period depended heavily upon its instructional program to prepare its young for adult membership and to bring in those outside the Lutheran fold through the teaching process.

Guardian of Public and Private Morals

When O. Birger Nelson began his pastoral ministry in 1910, the Lutheran clergyman was not only called to be a preacher and teacher. These were the formal aspects of his ministry--the role ascription by his congregation and the Synod to which he belonged. In addition, the Lutheran preacher of 1910 was strongly influenced, as he had been for some thirty years prior, by mores and traditions to become a guardian of public and private morals.

When Elling Eilsen, the first Norwegian Lutheran clergyman to minister to the early nineteenth-century Scandinavian immigrants, came to Wisconsin in 1841, he reported that "drinking and dancing were indulged in while the instruction of the children was neglected."[25] He and other frontier Lutheran clergymen were appalled at conditions that they saw on the raw frontier. His preaching, while basically Biblical and Lutheran in its confessional content, also struck home at the conditions which he

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[25]Nelson and Fevold, op. cit., p. 77.

found so objectionable. Fevold and Nelson, quoting earlier sources, say, "He continued to preach against 'dans og drik og sus og dus' (dancing and drinking, riotousness and revelry)."[26] C. L. Clausen, another pioneer Lutheran clergyman on the American frontier in the nineteenth century, later reported his distaste for the clergy of the Church of Denmark and in particular the confirmation pastor who is described as "bibulous and rationalistic."[27]

Among the uncompromising foes of the evils of drinking was J. W. C. Dietrichson, who became an object of folklore in the Koshkonong settlement in Wisconsin by challenging a Norwegian saloon keeper to sell his entire stock so that he could pour it out. When the saloon keeper, Halvor Christian Pedersen Funklien, refused, he was promptly excommunicated. According to the terms of the excommunication, Funklien could attend church only on condition that he occupy the seat assigned at the rear of the church.

> At this Funklien threatened to burn the church and kill the pastor and then promised that he would bring a bottle of whiskey to church and sit in the front pew. He appeared in church on Pentecost, but at the behest of Dietrichson was forcibly ejected by Trovatten and two assistants.[28]

The early Scandinavian settlers in Minnesota and Wisconsin were so concerned about the evils of the frontier that they wrote into their early constitutions the need for the kind of pious and holy living which seemed to them essential to the Christian life. In the "Old Constitution"

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[26] Ibid., p. 81.

[27] Ibid., p. 84.

[28] Ibid., p. 109.

of the Eilsen Synod, adopted 1946 and 1850, is the following statement of the requirement for church membership: "Every member in the church must consequently strive, in virtue of the power of faith, to walk piously and blamelessly and have constantly a wakeful eye upon himself, because he must remind others to walk faultlessly. . . ."[29]

For an understanding of the Lutheran role as the guardian of public and private morals, we go back not to Luther but to John Wesley. It is an irony of history that John Wesley, who was converted in Aldersgate Chapel on May 24, 1738, after hearing a passage read which had been written by Luther, became the Protestant Reformer most associated with code morality. The line of tradition can be clearly traced from his own preaching and influence in which he is described as believing that

> . . . in keeping with his belief in good works he systematically explored the social evils of the day, taking a firm stand against the enclosure act, which hurt the farmers, against child labor, and against the sale of liquor which was depriving the poor of their money. . . . In keeping with his idea of methodicalness, the Methodist disciplines came into being: rules against dancing, drinking and gambling.[30]

The Methodist lay missionary to the Swedish people in the early nineteenth century, George Scott, found as one of his eager disciples a young Swedish Lutheran, Carl Olaf Rosenius. From Scott, Rosenius picked up the Methodist point of view not only on drinking but against other amusements such as dancing and card playing which were then in popular use among not only the laity but also the clergy in the Church of Sweden. In speaking of the Rosenius revival movement, Arden says: "The movement

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[29]Ibid., p. 338.

[30]John Haverstick, The Progress of the Protestant (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968), p. 123.

had been initiated by non-Lutherans in a Lutheran land, first by Moravians and then encouraged and promoted by George Scott, the Methodist from England, and Robert Bard, the Presbyterian advocate of temperance from America."[31]

Thus we see the line of development of the concept of the pastoral role as the guardian of public and private morals. From Wesley to Scott to Rosenius and through the Rosenian Revival with its counterparts in Norway and Denmark, the distinctively American brand of temperance and denial of "pleasures of the flesh" came to the Lutheran frontier in the middle of the nineteenth century. As an extreme example of this kind of guardianship, we can trace the impact of Protestantism on the temperance movement in the United States.

Social Change Causes Role Stress and a Need for Role Redefinition

America's entry into the first World War, April 6, 1917, was a traumatic experience, not only for the nation as a whole, but for Lutherans in America. It marked the end of a period of rapid expansion of the church through assimilation of immigrants into the churches, particularly Scandinavian, in the period 1900-1917. It also marked the severing of ties with the Lutheran German homeland because Germany now became the enemy. The war also disrupted fraternal ties between Lutherans on the continent and the younger churches in America. Pastors who had often returned to the continent for specialized study or renewing of cultural ties now were unable to make this journey of rediscovery. The

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[31]Arden, op. cit., p. 10.

rise of intense nationalism led to the abandonment of Swedish and other foreign languages in many of the Lutheran churches in the United States. Older segments of Lutheranism in Pennsylvania, New York, and the Eastern Seaboard had long since made the transition to an indigenous American church. But in the Upper Midwest in particular where Scandinavian Lutheranism was predominant, the impact of the war vastly accelerated Americanization. This was not a smooth and gradual process. It was punctuated by extreme conflict between clergy and laity, and within the clergy between those who espoused the "New Americanism" and those who clung to the "old" ways wherein the "mother tongue" was considered to be the essential vehicle for communicating the Word.

Acculturation

In the year 1908 when Birger Nelson was in his first year of theological school at Augustana Seminary, Rock Island, Illinois, the Association of English Churches was formed. Of 168 congregations replying to a questionnaire at that time, 44 reported no English work at all; 49 had some English work but no English worship services; 42 conducted English services on one Sunday evening a month; 18 on two Sunday evenings a month, 3 on three Sunday evenings a month, and 12 every Sunday evening. The response showed that 563 children had been confirmed in English and 3,142 children had received English instruction in Sunday School during 1908.

On the basis of the survey, it was estimated that out of a total of 69,510 children enrolled in Augustana Sunday Schools in 1908, 20,012

had received some English instruction. Out of a total of 7,646 confirmations, 3,586 had been conducted in English.[32]

During the decade that followed, the process of transition to the English language proceeded so rapidly that in 1921 Dr. G. A. Brandelle, the Synod President, felt obliged to suggest that in the rapid Anglicization of the Synod, "One or two congregations should be kept in the large cities as exclusively Swedish churches to which the Swedish-speaking immigrants and visitors could go."[33]

Social Change--Mergers

The four hundredth anniversary in 1917 of the Lutheran Reformation had a psychological impact on mergers long planned in two major branches of Lutherans in America. Three separate Norwegian Lutheran Synods, after more than a decade of intensive negotiation, united on June 9, 1917, to form the Norwegian Lutheran Church in America. An example of the diversity still permitted in the new group was seen when twenty-seven theological candidates were ordained into the ministry of the new church. "At the ordination service, the clergy and candidates followed the customs of their congregation in respect to the use of vestments. This meant that some appeared in full vestment, others in formal dress, and still others in business suits."[34]

A second merger brought together three German ethnic groups in 1918, The General Council, the General Synod, and The General Synod of

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[32] Ibid., p.244.

[33] Ibid., p. 247.

[34] Nelson and Fevold, op. cit., p. 224.

the South, to form the United Lutheran Church in America. All traced their origins to the patriarch of American Lutheranism, Henry Melchoir Muhlenburg, who came to America from Germany in 1748. A smaller but still significant merger of extremely conservative Lutherans in 1919 brought together the Synods of Wisconsin, Michigan, and Minnesota, forming what was then known as the Joint Synod of Wisconsin, Minnesota, Michigan and other states. This group of 350,000 baptized members retained its ties with the Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod. Bergendoff says:

> Thus a large part of American Lutheranism had come together in doctrinal and organizational union in the course of three years. But the process was to go on. The post-war period saw rapid decline in the use of other languages and English in the Lutheran churches. As the walls of separation crumbled, the various language groups recognized their similarity and doctrine, and in the expansion of their activities they met one another on many fronts.[35]

In spite of historic ties with The General Council, Augustana remained aloof from the 1918 merger. After a bitter period of debate from November of 1917 until the following June, when the Augustana church held its annual Synod meeting, the division was sharp and represented roughly the loyalties of the Swedish-speaking constituents who opposed merger and the English-speaking pastors and congregations who in general favored it. In a historic confrontation it was "Resolved that the Augustana Synod does not at this time see its way clear to enter the proposed merger of the United Church in America, but declares itself in

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[35]Conrad Bergendoff, The Church of the Lutheran Reformation (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1967), p. 257.

in favor of a confederation of Lutheran Church bodies in North America."[36] A far longer resolution later passed as a compromise stated that the Augustana Synod saw a distinctive mission to continue its ministry to the Swedish-speaking people who had still depended on the Swedish emphasis in the church.

During the debate it became clear that the opposition to the merger was directed against the differing mores of the groups which were forming the United Lutheran Church in America. One of the objections was that pastors, including the president of one of the merging groups, were members of the Knights Templars, a Masonic Order. Thus, to become a party to the proposed merger was "tantamount to condoning lodgery." Still another objection (related to this writer by a number of older pastors of the Augustana Synod) was that the merging German groups included a number of saloonkeepers and were lax on the drink problem. Arden states that "a lay man from Nebraska opposed the merger because he felt that the Lutherans in the other church bodies were not sufficiently spiritual and claimed to prove his point by reminding his readers of the fact that German people were known by everyone to like their beer and schnapps."[37]

Summary

This historical sketch of the period 1900 to 1920 has shown major facets of the Lutheran minister's work during the period. The life of one particular typical Lutheran clergyman, the Rev. O. Birger Nelson,

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[36] Arden, op. cit., p. 257.

[37] Ibid., p. 255.

born in 1881, ordained in 1910, still active in the ministry in 1920, was used as a prototype.

In describing his habits and philosophy, an examination was made of the cultural and religious antecedents of his ministry as exemplified by the Church of Sweden which at that period was confessional (i.e., Lutheran) pietistic, and influenced by the Rosenian revival.

Nelson moved as a small boy with his parents to a Midwestern village, Varna, Illinois, and there came under the influence of a struggle between the forces of liberal and conservative American Lutheranism. The young Augustana Synod, organized as an alliance of Swedish and Norwegian congregations in Jefferson Prairie, Wisconsin, in 1860, moved strongly into the confessional or conservative side of this conflict and thus helped to shape the destiny of the entire Lutheran movement in America.

In examining the career of O. Birger Nelson against the background of the development of his church, the historical case study shows that the primary duty of the Lutheran pastor in the period 1900-1920 was to preach and administer the Sacraments. His second most important duty, particularly on the frontier, was to teach Lutheran dogma and cult to scattered congregations far removed from the mother churches of Europe. In his catechetical work and in his adult Bible classes, the Lutheran pastor was essentially a teacher. Both the teaching and preaching roles were ascribed by actual constitutional provisions and by long-standing and honored tradition.

The third facet of the Lutheran pastor's role was to be a guardian of public and private morals. In this particular aspect of

his work, especially among the Scandinavians, he was influenced by the Rosenian Revival in Sweden, by his Protestant compatriots in America, and by the particular moral laxity found on the American frontier. Thus we see the composite Lutheran role of a clergyman in this period as preacher-teacher-guardian of public and private morals.

CHAPTER VI

THE ROLE OF THE LUTHERAN CLERGY, 1920-1945

National and International Movements Affecting the Lutheran Church

During the period 1920-1945 the Lutheran Church was affected by economic expansion, depression and World War II. Historical case studies of two pastors who represent Lutheran clergy role redefinition in the period are presented in this chapter.

Two men guided the Augustana Lutheran Church between 1918 and 1945 whose lives reflect the dramatic change which characterized the period in the redefinition of the Lutheran clergy role. In 1918 Gustaf Albert Brandelle was elected president of the Augustana Lutheran Church and served until the fall of 1935. Says a contemporary writer:

> He led the Synod through the transition from an older Augustana, suspicious of its dealings with non-Lutheran Church bodies and cautious in relations with Lutheran Synods in America, to a Synod friendly in its attitudes toward other Protestants and active in furthering cooperation among Lutheranism.[1]

While Brandelle had spoken forcefully in favor of the merger of the United Lutheran Church in America and urged Augustana's participation in it, he gracefully accepted the mandate of his church to continue its separate existence. The Augustana Synod did join two significant federations, the

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[1] G. Everett Arden, Augustana Heritage (Rock Island, Ill.: Augustana Book Concern, 1963), p. 253.

National Lutheran Council (a working agency of all Lutheran major groups in America except the Missouri Synod and its fellow members of the synodical conference which was formed on September 6, 1918)[2] and a smaller federation, the American Lutheran Conference (October 29, 1930).[3] During Brandelle's presidency, the member congregations of the Augustana Lutheran Church had completed the basic transition from immigrant status to a church firmly rooted in American soil. The use of the Swedish language had all but disappeared by 1935. (The association of English churches was disbanded in 1931.) Because of failing health and advancing age, Brandelle retired in 1935. A younger and more vigorous pastor, Dr. Peter Olaf Bersell, was elected to lead the Augustana Lutheran Church.

The election of Dr. Bersell came in the depth of the economic depression. But the new leader of Augustana was not a defeatist. He quickly began to put into operation what has been called the "New Approach" in Augustana. He said in an interview in the synodical paper, The Lutheran Companion, soon after his election,

> I must admit that I never had any detailed blueprint or master plan or organization, although I did have a general idea of structure based very largely on the objectives sought and the patterns set by other organizations. We took on problems, one at a time, and learned by trial and error experience. Every department had to be organized (a) for effective work, (b) for harmonious collaboration with /the/ executive office of the church and other departments, and (c) for service to the entire church in close cooperation with the conferences.[4]

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[2]Osborne Hauge, Lutherans Working Together (New York: National Lutheran Council, 1945), p. 34.

[3]Arden, op. cit., p. 280.

[4]Ibid., p. 331.

The Augustana Synod was a long time in applying the emphasis of big business and corporate efficiency to church life. Until Bersell was elected in 1935 the Augustana Synod had no synodical office.

> Indeed, the Synod was so decentralized that there was actually no synodical headquarters, except in the home of the presidential incumbent. During the regime of G. A Brandelle the office of the president was centered in the pigeon holes of Dr. Brandelle's old-fashioned upright office desk in one corner of his living room in Rock Island, and was carried on without benefit of full-time secretarial help. It was a method of administration which looked back to the quaint days of the horse and buggy, and some of the Synod's old-timers saw no good reason for changing it.[5]

During the twenties Protestants had been greatly influenced by the phenomenal success of American corporations, and can be said to have adopted the philosophy of "the Gospel of success." Says John Haverstick,

> In 1925, a New York advertising man named Bruce Barton published a book which was to be hotly debated entitled, "The Man Nobody Knows." In it Barton presented Jesus to his readers as a back-slapping, go-getting Rotarian businessman. The relationship of business to Christianity--and the efforts of business to make Christianity conform to business ethics instead of vice versa--had long been evident in Protestantism. In the United States, Barton was the prototype of a whole school of so-called "Gospel of success" interpretations of Christianity.[6]

Although Max Weber was practically unread in America at this time, nevertheless his classic work, Protestant Ethics and the Spirit Capitalism, aptly delineates the capitulation of Protestants in America as well as in northern Europe to the distorted view of Calvinism and Lutheranism that man had a God-given duty to prove his Christianity by success in the business world.

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[5]Ibid., p. 328.

[6]John Haverstick, The Progress of the Protestant (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968), p. 232.

With new leadership in the presidency of the Augustana Lutheran Church, the pattern of church life noticeably quickened. The pace of change was accelerated in the large cities, particularly in those centers like Chicago, Minneapolis, and Detroit where there were considerable numbers of Lutherans and strong Lutheran congregations. It was in these big city congregations among whose membership were large numbers of at least middle-management executives that the change of the parish from a rural and village pattern to the giant corporation began to take effect.

Historical Case Study: The Rev. Joshua Oden

One of the pastors who was most successful in making this kind of transition was the Rev. Joshua Oden. Ordained in 1908, he was a contemporary of the Rev. O. Birger Nelson, the representative Lutheran pastor of the period 1900-1920. But their paths digressed widely. The Rev. Joshua Oden was not headed for the simple white frame church of a Midwestern village or the open country. With the sure instinct of a rising young executive he chose for one of his early pastorates the Irving Park congregation in a flourishing suburb of Chicago. Within a few years he had built a strong congregation which in 1938 had 2,337 members.[7]

Preacher

While Joshua Oden was not considered one of the outstanding preachers of the Augustana Lutheran Church, he was still recognized as a capable man in the pulpit. He was also one of the first clergymen to

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[7]Augustana Synod, Minutes, 1939.

make regular use of the then new communication medium of radio. He clearly showed his understanding of the possibilities of this new method of communication when he pioneered in radio broadcasting in the Chicago area in 1925.[8] He also used his very considerable skills as a public relations expert to capitalize on the growth of this medium. Motivated by a very natural nostalgic yearning for the past, he built a nationwide audience for his annual Christmas service conducted in the Swedish language. This broadcast was repeated year after year in the late twenties and thirties.

Thus while Oden continued an ascribed role of preacher, he expanded it in making use of this new method of communication.

Teacher

Joshua Oden understood the traditional Lutheran role of teacher; his description of his parish ministry includes emphasis on catechetical instruction which was part of the teaching duties ascribed to the Lutheran minister of that day. But he went considerably further than most Lutheran clergymen of his time in planning and carrying out a rather detailed program of instruction for his Sunday School teachers. These instruction sessions were led by the pastor and helped to build a capable and efficient Sunday School staff in his growing parish.

Role Redefinition

While Oden was influenced through his early training to continue some of the activities of the guardian-of-public-and-private-morals of the earlier period, his administrative talents led him in another direction.

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[8]The Rev. O. Birger Nelson. Personal papers.

In 1926 in the middle of the roaring twenties and one year after Bruce Barton had written his best seller about Jesus, The Man Nobody Knows, Joshua Oden put down his formula for building a successful ministry. In an article entitled "What Constitutes a Successful Ministry?" Joshua Oden describes the following essential points:[9]

> 1. Pastor's personality. The first I would present is that of the pastor's personality. He may endeavor to leave out the personal element, and still we will find that this personal element will confront us at every turn of the road. Christ himself made use of the personal method. . . . All great preachers and successful ministers have been men of strong personalities. . . . This personal element must necessarily play a great part in the development of a successful minister.

He then goes on to describe the secret of building a successful personality:

> The secret of the personality of the pastor lies in his attitude toward life--the abundant life. There are natural gifts of social contact and public teaching that are serviceable to the minister and these are to be trained to the highest efficiency.

Oden, who was himself impeccably groomed and a model of ministerial decorum, has also a word about appearance:

> Many a minister has been a failure because of his carelessness in dress. Grimy, unkept clothes, dirty linen and unshaven face, have ruined many a man. Levites of old were clad in their clean white linen vestments, and surely the ambassadors of Jesus Christ should be none the less careful about their general appearance.

Later in the same article, Oden reveals the keenly analytical mind which has grasped the need to move from a roll-top desk which was the headquarters of Synod at that time to the brisk efficiency of a corporation office. He says:

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[9]Joshua Oden, "What Constitutes a Successful Ministry?" The Augustana Quarterly, Vol. 5 (1926), pp. 344-346.

> In this day when competition is crowding us on every side, it is necessary to meet our competitors with the same means and methods which they employ. In the business world every possible means is being used to cut down costs, to save time; to make the work more efficient, systems are installed. Means of many kinds will therefore be found in the average business office. There are very few business houses that are so small that they do not make use of up-to-date methods and up-to-date equipment.
>
> The Church of our Lord Jesus Christ has been largely negligent along just this line. The lack of equipment, the lack of a real workable method, and the lack of confidence in such who have pioneered along this line, have been obstacles to many. The kingdom of God is a great business.[10]

Says he by way of zeroing in on mental attitudes and goals for the average clergyman:

> Nothing succeeds like success itself. The spirit of success permeating an organization has a peculiar tendency to arouse the spirit of success on the part of all who are interested, and projects itself out among such who are probably lukewarm and less interested. . . . If all members would boost and speak kindly of the church and its services, what a powerful good it would be. Sound the trumpet of jubilee, be happy in all that you do. . . .[11]

It was in the area of public relations or the simpler term which he preferred, publicity, that Pastor Joshua Oden excelled. Describing the use of the then beginnings of radio he says:

> At the present time we are carrying on a ten-week experiment but it is too early as yet to draw any definite conclusions. We are broadcasting the English morning service at 9:15 each Sunday. The service is costing us $125 a Sunday. What the return will be we are not certain as yet, /however/ we have every reason to believe that we should be encouraged in this our undertaking.[12]

In listing his own program as a model for a successful pastor, he indicates that the pastor should be hard at work by 9 o'clock in his office

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[10] Ibid., p. 347.

[11] Ibid., p. 351.

[12] Ibid., p. 352.

on Monday morning and should have each day's activity carefully outlined as well as an outline for each of the inevitable evening meetings which took up five evenings a week. He graciously allowed Saturday afternoon for recreation of some sort while Saturday evening was spent with his family.

Summary

Joshua Oden, ordained in 1908, became one of the leaders of the Lutheran clergymen who were redefining the pastoral role in the early 1920's. He continued the ascribed role of preacher-teacher but moved away from the concept of guardian-of-public-and-private-morals to lead his congregation into a new understanding of the pastor as an administrator. Here he showed some of the attributes of a good corporation executive. His revealing self-portrait quoted above indicates that he had (1) a clearly defined goal for himself and for his congregation; (2) that he was quick to use modern business methods including office equipment and a secretarial staff; (3) that he had a keenly developed sense of public relations; and (4) that at a very early period he had the acumen to make use of a new communication medium, radio, to extend the preaching office literally throughout the Chicago area. Thus Oden illustrates the qualities of the good executive who developed administrative procedures which came as an outgrowth of the vast proliferation of business in America in the post-World War I boom period.

In spite of Oden's obvious administrative leadership qualities, he failed to build a strong team. His leadership was essentially a one-man effort. When later in his ministry in the late 1930's he found it necessary to ask for pastoral assistance, he found it difficult to adjust

to the role of leader of a team of other workers. Friction developed between himself and several of his assistants so that the closing years of his ministry were clouded by divided authority and factions within the congregation.[13]

Oden made great contributions to the concept of the pastor as administrator during a time when the typical Augustana Synod congregation was no longer a village or rural group but rather constituted an urban parish in the Midwest or East which needed the administrative leadership skills to enable it to cope with the vastly more complex cultural patterns engendered by urbanization.

Historical Case Study: The Rev. Reuben K. Youngdahl

While Joshua Oden showed highly developed administrative skills as a leader of a large urban parish in the 1920's and 1930's, it remained for the Rev. Reuben K. Youngdahl to demonstrate what could happen when a singularly gifted administrator found an opportunity to use his genius in a city and in a situation which provided just the right environment for this kind of leadership. Reuben Youngdahl was born May 17, 1911, in Minneapolis, Minnesota. He was educated at Gustavus Adolphus College, St. Peter, Minnesota, a four-year liberal arts college of the Minnesota Conference of the Augustana Synod, and then at Augustana Theological Seminary, Rock Island, Illinois, from which he graduated on June 10, 1934. Appropriately his ordination service was held in Minneapolis which was to be the scene of his astonishing career. His first call was to Trinity Lutheran Church of Marshalltown, Iowa.[14] He labored in this particular

[13]The Rev. O. Birger Nelson. Personal papers.

[14]Augustana Synod, Minutes, 1939.

vineyard for four years showing evidence of initiative and creative leadership but without any dramatic response.

In 1938 he accepted a call to the then struggling Mt. Olivet Lutheran Church in Minneapolis. Within a year his congregation had experienced such remarkable growth that they were able to purchase four lots and began building a beautiful new stone church. At the close of 1938, the congregation totaled 413 members and reported an income of $10,055. By comparison, O. Birger Nelson, modal clergyman for the period 1910-1920 was in that year, 1938, serving St. Ansgar's Congregation of Cannon Falls, Minnesota. In that year St. Ansgar's had 703 members and a total congregational income of $5,425. The subject of our second case study, Joshua Oden, in 1938 was serving the Irving Park Lutheran Church of Chicago, with 2,337 members and a combined parish income of $29,553.42.[15]

Not satisfied with the building of a beautiful stone Gothic church in 1939 at the cost of $55,000, Reuben Youngdahl challenged his congregation within a year to begin plans for a vastly larger building program.[16] Instead of moving directly into a second building program, the congregation authorized the purchase of a large tract land directly across the street from the new church. The building was then sold to the Christian Science congregation.

Within ten years, the Lutheran congregation had begun to erect a vast new church plant, one of the largest in the United States. When

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[15] Ibid.

[16] Life at Mt. Olivet (Minneapolis: Mt. Olivet Lutheran Church, 1964), p. 2.

the main structure was completed in 1949, it had a seating capacity of nearly 2,000 persons and cost some $870,000.[17]

Mt. Olivet Church had grown ten-fold in these ten years of Reuben Youngdahl's pastorate from 413 members in 1938 to 4,401 members in 1948. A comparison with the congregations served by our two other representative clergymen reveals an interesting contrast in life styles, types of community, and styles of pastoral leadership. The Rev. O. Birger Nelson was still serving the St. Ansgar's Congregation of Cannon Falls; in 1948 this village congregation reported 729 members and a combined parish income of $8,119.74. Joshua Oden reported that his congregation, Irving Park Lutheran Church of Chicago, had 2,841 members and a parish income of $49,753.[18]

Further Development

Although the further development of Mt. Olivet Church beyond the post-war period rightfully falls into the third major historical period, it serves as such a remarkable commentary on the administrative efficiency of the modal clergyman that this later record is included here. During the whole process of building a huge church complex of which the initial cost of the nave and fellowship hall were nearly one million dollars, the congregation further expanded its facilities to include a church school building and addition; a chapel and administration building; then later the Mt. Olivet Careview Nursing Home for elderly people, and still

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[17] Augustana Synod, Minutes, 1949.

[18] Ibid.

later the Mt. Olivet Home for Senior Citizens with a capacity of 100; and finally in 1969, Mt. Olivet Rolling Acres, a home for retarded children which represented an investment of over one million dollars. By 1968 the congregation had developed resources including its Cathedral of the Pines Camp in excess of five million dollars.[19]

Preacher

The spectacular growth of Mt. Olivet Lutheran Church was not caused by any kind of sensational pulpit oratory. According to contemporary records, Pastor Youngdahl's messages were Christ centered, biblical, and based on conservative Lutheran theology. He added wider dimension to the preaching office when in 1948 he added radio listeners to his already large parish attendance at the Sunday and weekday services. A few years later, in 1955, he added a regular television program so that he became one of the pioneer Lutheran clergymen using this newest of the mass media for communicating his message to a viewing audience estimated to be 72,000 persons in 53,000 homes.[20]

Teacher

In addition to carrying on his ascribed duties as teacher in confirmation classes at Mt. Olivet which, at the beginning of the World War II period enrolled 150 to 200 students, Pastor Reuben Youngdahl built a teaching staff including a full-time director of Christian Education.

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[19] Mt. Olivet Lutheran Church, 50th Anniversary, 1920-1970 (Minneapolis: 1970), pp. 9-11.

[20] Life at Mt. Olivet, p. 45.

At least one of the four pastors on his staff worked primarily in education, together with a volunteer staff of 300 teachers and a Sunday School enrollment of over 3,000 students.[21]

Role Redefinition--The Pastor as Administrator

Perhaps no Lutheran pastor in the long history of that church has shown administrative skills which produced results comparable to those achieved by this man of God who used his talents, his capacity for building an administrative team, and his skill in attracting top lay leadership and putting them to work on projects that captured their imagination. Shortly before his death in 1968, Reuben Youngdahl presided over a vast complex structure composed of four pastors and an administrative staff including a psychologist, a social worker, a parish deaconness, a director of music, an organist, and his assistant, an administrative assistant, two personal secretaries, other secretaries working with other members of his staff, a director of religious education, a director of parish evangelism, a research assistant, a director of volunteer services, a church school secretary, two office clerks, two additional office secretaries, a treasurer, and four custodians. Added to this staff of some 23 professional and clerical persons were the staffs of a nursing home, a home for the aged, and ultimately a home for retarded children. Yet Reuben Youngdahl still considered his first love to be a Cathedral of the Pines project which he had developed on the North Shore of Lake Superior. Here through a corporation set up with private funds gathered by Mt. Olivet members, he established a camp which, like

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[21] Ibid., p. 5.

all other Mt. Olivet projects, set a standard of excellence. In an average season, the camp served 1,400 campers ranging in age from third graders to high school youth and adults. The scope of the administrative achievements of Reuben Youngdahl is shown by the building of an airport near the camp so that he might commute between his huge parish in Minneapolis and the shores of Lake Superior. The airport with a 2,700-foot blacktop runway, was located 14 miles from the camp. The purpose of the airport was described as follows: "Owned and operated by the camp, the airport is available for public use, but serves primarily to assist the pastor in commuting between the North Shore and Minneapolis. About thirty flights are made by the pastor each summer in attending to his duties both at camp and in the parish."[22]

As it must to all men, death came to Pastor Reuben Youngdahl on March 2, 1968. At a memorial service held in Mt. Olivet Church on March 6 of that year, four capacity congregations or more than 10,000 persons paid tribute to this leader of a parish church which had grown from modest beginnings to one of the largest Christian communities in the United States.[23]

Although the pastoral leadership of the congregation has remained at high level with a capable replacement, the Rev. Paul Noreen, who came to the congregation in 1968, it seems reasonable to assume that the spectacular growth of Mt. Olivet church could not be duplicated either in Minneapolis or in any other city of the United States under the vastly changed social conditions in the 1970's.

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[22] Ibid., p. 28.

[23] 50th Anniversary, 1920-1970, op. cit., p. 15.

Summary

In looking at the astonishing growth of this congregation under the administrative leadership of Pastor Reuben Youngdahl, the conclusion seems clear that the right man had arrived at the right place at the right time. Pastor Youngdahl's administrative abilities which led his congregation to such spectacular growth had also been applied to Trinity Lutheran Church in Marshalltown, Iowa, with results that were disappointing. However, arriving in Minneapolis at the close of the Great Depression, and working through the war years (later followed by the great post-war exodus to the suburbs), Pastor Youngdahl was able to build a team of pastors, professionally trained persons, and above all lay leaders. His specific skills in the administrative area of his ministry enabled him to lead a congregation of 10,000 members, build facilities in excess of five million dollars, and establish agencies serving youth, the aged, and the mentally retarded. More than any other Lutheran clergyman, he redefined the pastoral role in terms of administrative leadership during the period 1938-1945.

Redefining the Role of the Lutheran Clergy, 1920-1945

During the twenty-five years starting in 1920 and concluding in 1945, the Lutheran Church was affected by the following major social changes: (1) the great economic expansion which began in 1929 and (2) the urbanization process in the great cities of the nation which led to concentrations of millions of people in metropolitan areas. The clergyman chosen to represent the early phases of this period was the Rev. Joshua Oden, ordained in 1908, who illustrates in his mature ministry

particularly in the 1920's and early 1930's, the type of individual administrative leadership which helped redefine the pastoral role from preacher-teacher-guardian-of-public-and-private-morals to preacher-teacher-administrator. His great ability to offer individual leadership in a rapidly growing metropolitan area was an example of this type of role redefinition. He carried on the ascribed roles of preacher-teacher but enhanced them by the addition of the modern techniques of business management.

The second clergyman selected for this period, the Rev. Reuben Youngdahl, represents executive leadership, applied to a particular growth situation. The factors of population growth, middle-class mobility from the downtown area to the suburbs and the use of the most advanced business techniques combined to develop a large metropolitan congregation. Pastor Reuben Youngdahl's greatest achievement was in building a continuing team of professional clergy, highly skilled in other areas such as education, music, social work and psychology, and in mobilizing a vast number of volunteers, literally in the thousands, to implement the manifold activities of his parish. He challenged people to follow his leadership into achievements not considered possible by former generations. His leadership exemplifies the role redefinition in the period 1920-1945 to preacher-teacher-administrator.

CHAPTER VII

THE ROLE OF THE LUTHERAN CLERGY, 1945-1970

Historical Perspective

With the close of World War II in August of 1945, the United States faced a major post-war adjustment period. Demobilization of the troops and shifting from a wartime economy had been anticipated as the cause of major social unrest. However, the fifteen years following the war witnessed a relatively smooth transition to peacetime economy, and a great industrial expansion, migration to the suburbs, and the suburban parish. John Kenneth Galbraith's The Affluent Society added that phrase to American popular idioms and led to the wry statement by many clergymen that they were serving in their suburban parishes a "country club with a spire."

The rosy picture of post-war development was clouded for three years by the unpopular but relatively non-divisive war in Korea. With the election of Dwight Eisenhower there came a change in the national mood which may have been a contributing factor to the religious revival in the years 1954-1957.

The Gallup Poll has provided evidence of the shift from a modest post-World War II revival of religious interest to the declining state of institutionalized religion in the late fifties and sixties. Surveys in the post-war period by the American Institute of Public Opinion (the

Gallup Poll) have indicated that the following percentages of the adult population attended worship service during the week of the testing. In 1947, 45 percent; this dropped to 39 percent in 1950, showed an increase in July 1954 to 46 percent, in December 1955 to 49 percent, in April 1957 to an all-time high of 51 percent. This was the last year in which many American churches showed an increase in attendance.

A further index of the post-war religious boom was the rise in amounts invested in church construction. The figure for 1946 was $76 million; by 1953 the figure had risen to $474 million.[1]

However, the national picture abruptly changed in the 1960's. Rapid social change led the nation into a major crisis with a resulting impact on the church and the clergy.

The election of John Fitzgerald Kennedy to the presidency of the United States in 1960 marked the end of an era in American political life. He was the first Roman Catholic to be elected to this high office. A part of his successful campaign lay in quieting Protestant fears, especially in the deep South, that he could become a lackey of the Pope instead of the Chief Executive of the United States. Events in five critical areas--the election of a Roman Catholic President, the changes in the Roman Catholic Church as a result of the 2nd Vatican Council, the Supreme Court decision (one man, one vote) changing the political balance of power in many states, the civil rights movement and its aftermath, the war on poverty, and the Vietnam war--all marked the sixties as a

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[1]Charles Y. Glock and Rodney Stark, Religion and Society in Tension (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965), pp. 74-75.

turbulent period in American history. Three books which appeared in the early 1960's, Robinson's Honest to God, Cox's Secular City, and Berton's Comfortable Pew exposed the underlying tensions between the institutional church and the rapidly changing society.

The Modal Clergyman, 1945-1970:

The Rev. Paul Schaeffer

The Rev. Paul Schaeffer was born and raised in Chicago, Illinois. He was educated in Carthage College, a liberal arts four-year college of the United Lutheran Church. Upon graduation he enrolled in Mt. Airy Seminary, a Lutheran theological school in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and was ordained in January 1947. He was ordained on a call to Holy Communion Lutheran Church of Berlin, New Jersey, a mission congregation which received Schaeffer as its first resident pastor. He served in this developing congregation for three years. He was one of those clergymen who felt a sense of duty to serve the military forces of the United States which were then being called up for the "police action" in Korea. In 1950 he was commissioned a Chaplain in the United States Air Force and served in that capacity for seven years. He was then called to St. Michael's Lutheran Church in Berkeley, California. The congregation was at that time a part of the Pacific Southwest Synod of the United Lutheran Church in America. He served St. Michael's, which had an important ministry to the campus of the University of California, for a ten-year period. During the last several years of that ministry he led his congregation into a significant merger across ethnic and social-economic lines to form the Lutheran Church of the Cross in 1967. Three

other pastors and their congregations were involved in the merger. The Rev. Kenneth Senft was serving the Bethany congregation of downtown Berkeley. This congregation prior to 1962 had been of the Augustana Lutheran Church tradition. The Rev. William Youngdahl served as pastor of Shepherd of the Hills, which had been founded as a mission by the United Lutheran Church in America primarily to serve the new theological school established in Berkeley. The Rev. Walter Werronen had been serving Holy Trinity Lutheran Church, which prior to 1962 had been affiliated with the Suomi Synod, a Lutheran Church of Finnish ethnic composition.[2]

With the formation of the Lutheran Church of the Cross, the young congregation faced problems of overcoming previous ethnic backgrounds firmly rooted at Bethany (Swedish) and at Holy Trinity (Finnish). Of the two other groups involved in the merger, one was a residential type congregation (Shepherd of the Hills) and the other (St. Michael's) served the volatile campus community of the University of California, Berkeley. In addition to crossing ethnic lines the congregation also began pioneering in such concepts as disposal of existing buildings and developing new and radical types of ministry to serve the specific needs of the Berkeley community.

Stress factors built into this attempt to meet rapidly changing social needs of militant students, of blacks in the Berkeley community, of traditional-minded parishoners, may have led to the resignation of Rev. Kenneth Senft, who accepted a call to Trinity Lutheran Church of Pasadena, California. Later the Rev. William Youngdahl, who had become

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[2]The Rev. Paul Schaeffer, Interview, June 1970.

a controversial figure while serving a church in Omaha, Nebraska, also resigned. While in Omaha, Youngdahl had become the central figure in a dispute with members of his congregation on the racial issue. The television program, "A Time for Burning," which was filmed at the height of the controversy was shown nationally over major networks and became a polemical issue in Lutheran circles in the years that followed.[3]

The Rev. Paul Schaeffer was one of a group of pastors interviewed in October 1969 as a follow-up procedure to supplement the questionnaire given to clergy and lay delegates at the Pacific Southwest Synod. (See Chapter IV.) At the time of his initial interview in October 1969, he was still an active pastor, one of two on the staff of the Lutheran Church of the Cross in Berkeley. Excerpts from the first interview follow.[4] The questions asked are given to indicate the unstructured type of interview. Question: "What changes have you seen in the pastoral role, thinking specifically of your own experience, in the last ten years?"

> Well, in the last ten years I have been in one place; but there have been changes. And I suppose it has been one from starting as a President of the Church Council, the chief executive of the corporation, the preaching pastor, the man who did all things. . . . It has come to the point now where you find you have people in the congregation who are knowledgeable and intelligent, good administrators, good people who can certainly carry the ball in many areas without your even being there.

This was the first indication of a major personal role change in the pastoral ministry of Paul Schaeffer who had gone through a traditional period of preparation in a Lutheran College and a Lutheran Seminary.

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[3] The Lutheran, Vol. 8, No. 11 (June 3, 1970), pp. 14-17.

[4] The Rev. Paul Schaeffer, Interview, October 1, 1969.

(The one noticeable variant from the normal in his preparation was that he was extraordinarily young when he was ordained, 21 years of age, possibly the youngest graduate of Mt. Airy Seminary.) In commenting on this change further he said:

> So, in a sense, the action has really started at a grass-roots level, instead of waiting for people in the administrative bureauocracy, whatever you want to call it, higher up in the church to initiate things, it became evident that they didn't know what was happening in the level where you were, and you can't expect them to know everything that is happening all over the country. And it really was an impossible assignment for them to begin with. So what happened then was that the role of the pastor had become one of administrator. . . .
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> I did not take an active role in the finance-stewardship area at all. I'd show up once in a while but the budget, and everything else, letters, the whole campaign, was not done by the pastor at all. I supplemented it with a sermon or maybe with an article in the newsletter but that was about it. So you find competent people and when you find competent people you have to turn them loose.

Having changed his own role from administrator to a new concept, Paul Schaeffer attempts a redefinition of the role as he saw it changing. "So we are seeing ourselves then as enablers and support people and encourage people to go ahead and do it. It is all right; see what happens."

Here Paul Schaeffer serves as an example of a development in small group leadership identified by Robert Bales of Harvard.[5] In his experimentation with small group leadership, Bales identified (1) the task leader and (2) the social-emotional leader, one who supports the task leader in reaching agreed upon goals. It is this later concept

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[5]Robert F. Bales and Philip E. Slater, "Role Differentiation in Small Decision-Making Groups," Family, Socialization and Interaction Process, Talcott Parsons and Robert F. Bales, Chapter 5 (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955).

that Schaeffer identifies with in describing his own concept of his role change from task leader to social-emotional leader.

Role Change--New Techniques of Counseling

Paul Schaeffer had been exposed to professional counseling in his seven-year stint in the Air Force as Chaplain; he went on to report insights into human behavior which he had gained on contacts with a psychiatrist that had helped him in the ministry. He then discussed an interesting development from individual to group counseling techniques and using established church committees as a means of developing group therapy. Excerpts follow:

> Another thing with the small group idea or movement going through, another thing that started when I was in the St. Michael's situation (prior to the merger into the Lutheran Church of the Cross) was that I became interested in these standing committees and these combinations of committees and whatever we had, groups within the congregation, fellowship groups or whatever, these would become the scrimmage grounds for their faith and for their style of life and everything. And especially as committees, I was as concerned about the makeup and how they functioned, and sometimes more concerned about that . . . what happened in their relations and how they worked things out, than I was in the results of the committee.

Question: "In other words, you began to be person-oriented not task-oriented?"

> Right. If there was a task to do, it generally got done but /it/ really took off the back of the preacher the task of counseling which he cannot do 24 hours a day. . . . I appoint people on committees where, of course, you know these people and you put them in situations where they confront each other, different kinds of people, and where instead of draining you they are going to feed on each other a while. And then, if need be, you can be a bit of an intermediary and it takes a lot less time when you are working with a group than singly.

In this exchange Schaeffer commented on the drain on the average parish pastor of a vastly increased work load of counseling which will be discussed more fully in Chapter VIII. Here he has advanced beyond the one-to-one relationship of individual counseling and has found great value in group counseling or group therapeutic experience.

Role Redefinition--Calling

Question: "Now if you can switch positions here and look at the pastoral role from the pew. What frustrations do you see on the part of your people as they see the pastor's role changing?"

> Well, we might have what you might call a polarization, a double polarization or a triple polarization or whatever. We are living in a polaristic society and the church is reflecting that, especially in Berkeley, of course. . . . But, still the frustration of the people in the pew--one is, there are some people who feel you ought to just drop in with them for a cup of coffee for no reason and that is a luxury that cannot be afforded. I have found that in the city really people do not object to coming into your office. You can see twice as many people if they come to see you at your office and maybe three times as many because if you go to a home, they have to maybe clean up the house, they have to take care of the kids, answer the phone, and all of these things going on. You exchange pleasantries, you have to talk about their house, and garden, and everything else. If they come into your office, you say, "All right let's get down to business." And it is much more economical for everybody concerned, as far as time and energy and you get more out of people that way, really, than to have him spend his time in and out fighting traffic, going from one end of the community to the other and all over the place.

Here is one pastor's approach to the problem of the observed phenomenon that pastors are simply not making as many calls in homes of members as they once did.[6]

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[6]See data in Chapter VIII.

Role Strain

Schaeffer continued:

> But that is one frustration, they are concerned about the availability of the pastor. They call on the phone and they expect you to be right there at the phone and answer it. So you are still caught up in this problem that you feel you ought to answer the phone immediately. We are training them to leave their name and we call them back. We are faithful about calling them back so that's all right. . . . On the other hand, we may not be able to give them an appointment for a week, unless it is an emergency. And this is so hard for them to understand, especially from the Midwestern background, small rural town, farm town, something like that where the pastor was readily available. But now this is one of the frustrations about trying to get the pastor right away.

Here Schaeffer comments on frustrations reported by many pastors. From the point of view of the pastor there seems to be the impossible load of being instantly available to all of his people at all times. From the point of view of the people there is a frustration in trying to reach a pastor with a serious problem and either not getting to him or discovering that his schedule is already so filled with other commitments that he is unable to take care of the person in need of help. This problem is also discussed by others in interviews to be described in a later chapter.

Role Redefinition

> And I think that the change has come, they are seeing the pastor now as more of a human being and this is helpful and I appreciate it. We have a policy, for instance, that we don't call each other pastors /and/ we are not called pastors. We are called by our first name. We don't bother about titles. Of course, and I think this is happening in industry too, a boss is not even called boss anymore, he is called by his first name. It is a matter of realizing a union in people and everybody puts their pants on one leg at a time, you know. And its a lovely process going on where you get genuine feed-back instead of just what you want to hear.

One of the very real problems described by many pastors is the feeling of distance between themselves and their people. They seem to be divided by the concept of the "indelible stamp," which, while not a part of Protestant theology or practice, nonetheless seems to be a carryover from Roman Catholicism. In this portion of the interview Schaeffer describes an attempt by himself and his staff to break loose from the stereotype pattern of dividing pastor from people by formal title and role definition. At this point Schaeffer returned to a theme which appeared several times in the interview, that of his own personal role strain. He speaks about people getting up and walking out of the service while he is preaching and of course his reaction to it. He says:

> So there is frustration. They want to see the old-time pastor who preaches biblical quotations all through his sermons. Then we get the criticism, "Well, you don't preach the Gospel because you don't quote out of the Bible" but no point in telling them that you are trying to explain what the Bible is saying. But they don't want to hear that, a lot of them. So we are in a position now where I am very used to people getting up and walking out of the service. It is not unusual. And especially when you are doing experimental things.

At this point Schaeffer went on to describe an incident in which he was conducting an experimental service and four people got up and left. He indicated his own feelings of rejection and the concern of the more traditionally minded people. Investigation, however, showed that the people left because one was ill and others left to give assistance. Schaeffer continues describing how he sees the role of the pastor changing in terms of status.

> So from the pew, therefore, there is less awe of the pastor. At the same time there is more <u>attack</u>. So you are at a milestone of encounter and the whole bit, and you really get in on the action.

One of the frustrations faced by Schaeffer (and other pastors reporting through this kind of unstructured interview) was the lack of trust that he observed in people within the pastor-congregational relationship. In answer to this question: "As you look at the pastoral role now in transition, what personal frustrations are you experiencing as you go through this process?" he stated:

> I suppose right now my personal frustrations have to do with having people say, "Well, you're brainwashing us about the state of the church." These are the people who say, "All you have to do is believe in Jesus Christ and everything is all right," but I say, "Well, all, right, so what"--and that is when everything hits the fan! And another frustration, in other words, it is people not wanting to believe you or even accept facts and figures or not trusting you. Well, actually not believing facts and figures on finances, for instances, which is a very strange thing.

The next question sought to probe the attitude that Schaeffer had toward the ministry by asking a question about how he would work with a young person who came to him for pastoral advice about the calling of the ministry. Question: "What would you do if a young man were to come to you that you know would indicate to you that he was seriously considering the ministry? As a college graduate he could go into graduate school, say in social work or sociology, or continue on and become a teacher. What would you do to help him clarify the decision he wanted to make about the ministry?" Schaeffer answered:

> This has happened a number of times and I tell him he must do both. In other words, he can no longer simply be a pastor with a seminary education.... /If/ he can get away to college, you are better off to tell him he must have a money-paying profession or occupation as a result of his college where he can earn his money to support himself and then go into the ministry. . . . But I believe that much of the work of the future ministry is in the worker-priest concept. And unless you can be your own man, and this is increasingly important these days, you are going to be a mess in the ministry.

It was at this point that Schaeffer mentioned what he later developed much more completely in the second interview, the worker-priest concept. During this initial interview Schaeffer showed great personal strain with an unresolved decision, which was not then known to the interviewer or to any church officials, to leave the parish ministry. However, the same role strain and redefinition problems that he described were later verified by other clergy who made different decisions.

Three months after this inverview, word was received that Paul Schaeffer had left the parish ministry to carry out his ideas about becoming a worker-priest in a new setting. A second interview was conducted in Berkeley in January 1970.[7] Excerpts from that second interview follow:

Role Redefinition--Preaching

> You preach sermons from the pulpit? All right, preach the same sermon from the floor one time without the pulpit. It will disturb people even though you preach the same stuff. It's more where you are than what you say oftentimes. You pull some of these things and you find out what is really going on. I know of one pastor recently I heard about, I think in a Lutheran congregation, forgotten where it was; he preached the same sermon for three Sundays from the pulpit, the same, word for word. It wasn't until the third Sunday that somebody said, "Haven't I heard some of that before?" That is unbelievable. Maybe someone the second Sunday wondered but they weren't that sure to say anything. But upon that pedestal, it's where you are as long as you say some words for a certain amount of time.

Schaeffer in this interview also expressed the thought that preaching should not be a one-way communication but rather a dialogue. He reported some inconclusive experiments of beginning a sermon in a

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[7]The Rev. Paul Schaeffer, Interview, January 3, 1970.

traditional way then stepping down from the pulpit and saying, "Now what do you think about it? Do you have any comments?" He reported that most of the people were unable to respond, but a few younger people actually engaged him in dialogue which he felt was superior to a traditional kind of preaching in which he had been trained.

Role Redefinition--Evangelism

> Jesus was always eating and drinking. You go through all these things of the kingdom and even on the cross, "you will be with me in paradise" means a banquet, so you check all that out and it's this eating together in this banquet. So when people say what is the best method of evangelism, I say go to a party, and they drop their teeth. That's where evangelism happens, at a party or dinner. That's where you go. Before the merger we had a parish worker. The parish worker and I told the church council, "If you have a party invite us; that is where we can make contacts."

Later in this interview Schaeffer returned to this theme that the most effective method of evangelism was not the kind of house-to-house visitation which had been traditional in the various Lutheran groups, but rather this kind of fellowship engendered by a social situation whether it be a dinner or, as he described it, a cocktail party.[8]

Role Redefinition--Parish Pastor to Worker-Priest (Tentmaker)

Question: "Would you briefly sketch for us the actual transition that you have now made and give us some of the reasons why you made this change?" Schaeffer replied:

> That's a long answer to a short question coming up, probably. I think that what was done at /the/ Lutheran Church of the Cross is part of the transition that is going on in the Lutheran Church today. I have come to the conclusion now

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[8]Cf. Harvey Cox, "In Praise of Festivity," The Saturday Review, Vol. 52 (October 25, 1969), pp. 25ff.

> that this is the transition that is facing the church, and many people are trying to figure out the reason why, and I think one of the great influences is that little square box in everybody's home, the T.V. As McLuhan says, "The fact of the box is more important than what goes on over it." Here's what happened and I think you can see it in other areas of life. On T.V. you have two kinds. . . . One is the big spectacular like the funerals after the assassination of leaders of the country. . . . That is one kind of experience I think that you have on T.V. The other is an intimate, instant involvement with a very small group, maybe just yourself or a couple of people in the room, maybe just one or two persons on the screen. I think you will find that this kind of reaction--the small group thing, sensitivity groups, therapy groups, all kinds of names they give these groups--may be a result of that.

Schaeffer relates this to his experience at the Church of the Cross. He felt the merger of four separate congregations into one large corporation gave them the T.V. "spectacular," that is the feeling of a large assembly, yet a good deal of emphasis in their ministry in the merged congregation had been with small groups. This kept the intimate feeling of groups of twelve, twenty, or twenty-five persons meeting at homes throughout the week. He says by way of prediction of the future, "Maybe once in a while this group gets together for a spectacular worship, you see, so this is how, maybe, this thing is evolving." Schaeffer began to relate this concept of the small group relationship to that of his own decision to become a worker-priest.

> If you are going to work in small groups, you don't have to minister doing full-time work with twelve people or two dozen people, but rather, maybe you have a man who is making his own way because you can't afford that many professional people full time.

To preserve the concept of the small group and still retain some identity with traditional pastoral roles, Schaeffer explained that a worker-priest who made his living outside of the institutional church could still

relate in some very specialized way to small-group activity in the church either as a moderator or as a resource person or as a therapist, whatever particular skills he had to share with the small group. He elaborated the specific steps he had taken to leave the parish ministry and to carry out his role to be a worker-priest. The interviewer told him:

> I had a chance to visit one of the church offices here on University Avenue and one of the girls over there gave me your letter of farewell to the parish. You mention in the letter that you wanted to be a worker-priest, or perhaps a tentmaker type priest in a new kind of relationship. Would you tell me first what your occupation is now and how you relate it to some possible redefinition of role in the congregation?

In reply to this question, Schaeffer said:

> This worker-priest concept is, then, I believe, the natural result of the T.V. business, you see, or this small, intimate group with a large spectacular. I now am working for Container Corporation of America in Emeryville as a personnel manager and purchasing agent. I will be hiring all of the hourly people for the plant--that ranges from 120 to 160 people, depending on how many shifts you have going. Right now they have two; they are planning on having a third. So this is still working with people.

Question: "How did you happen to choose this particular company as a place where you wanted to make the transition?"

> Well, actually I had been looking for about six months. I went to an agency which came out of the group called "The Next Step" in San Francisco. You know what "The Next Step" is; it is a half-way house for ministers, priests, and nuns leaving the church, mainly for priests and nuns. They found that you really can't operate an employment agency without fees you know. . . . So they charge a fee on a sliding scale according to how much training you need, how much help you need, how much testing you need. If they feel you are goint to get a job fairly easily, you get a low rate, which was my case.

In tracing the actual steps in getting a job, he described the usual technique of preparing résumés which in his case he prepared for two

groups, one in the mass media, T.V. and radio, and the other in management-administration. In further discussion of why he made the actual change, he mentions the theme which seems to have occurred to many men who have left the parish ministry. Question: "What was your starting salary and how did it compare with what you were getting in the parish ministry?" Schaeffer replied, "It is less than I was getting in the parish ministry. But in the parish ministry you hit a plateau at a certain age when you start going down. In industry if you are fortunate you don't stay there; you have the possibility of going up." This fear of a declining economic position in the later stages of the parish ministry is noted also in the evidence secured in the questionnaire and in other interviews discussed in a later chapter. One interesting reaction that was tested was how the company responded to his describing his desire to leave the ministry. "Well," said Schaeffer, "I told them the church was in transition. I have to work and I have to support myself and this kind of thing, but they still didn't feel that was quite enough." The executives who were making a decision about Schaeffer's employment felt something was missing in his replies and so they probed further. Further investigation revealed that he was separated from his wife and was in the process of getting a divorce. When they discovered this information, they (unnamed executives at the Container Corporation of America) said (according to Schaeffer),

> "Well, we are sorry that you didn't tell us that; that you didn't feel you could be that open with us. We don't play games; we try to be open with you. Probably you didn't know us this well." I /Schaeffer/ said "yes, and also at this point I am not divorced because I hadn't filed. So when I said I was married, it was true and I really couldn't say I was divorced.

> And I couldn't say I was getting one because I hadn't filed. I could have, I suppose, but that is not the way I operate."

Role Redefinition--Need for Research

Paul Schaeffer, like other clergy who have shown dissatisfaction with the parish ministry, sees the great need for redefinition of the clergy role and a new kind of scientific research applied to problems in the ministry. He reported on an experience of establishing a research department in his congregation eleven years ago.

> Now the church has been behind in not establishing a research department in every congregation. That is something I did here eleven years ago. First Research and Development Committee I ever heard of in the church. We started with a questionnaire with the congregation. Things were rocky, everybody screamed. We did a questionnaire with about eighty questions, three or four pages long, and we got an 85 percent response to this--phenomenal. We worked with the Survey and Research Center at the University of California, Charles Glock, we used their machines. At first he said it wasn't worth putting on cards, but after that response he said that we should put it on cards. Then you can ask questions of the cards that you never had on the questionnaire and get an answer. One of the amazing questions we could ask is, "Considering who I am, who are going to be your enemies in that congregation that are going to buck you all the way?" And we actually got those cards in a little slot and pulled them out and there they were. I knew exactly how many; I knew exactly who they were. ... You can ask other questions about what people really were feeling about the church. What were their actions going to be in the future? How you could meet their problems as well as these enemies? How could you meet these enemies? What could you do to minister to them? Will it be necessary that they are going to leave? It turned out that about half of them left and you have to learn to let them go.

Schaeffer then described realistically his reaction to the fact that in any kind of a strong parish leadership situation, certain people will dissent and some of these dissenters will leave the church. He faced the problem and was able finally to develop a kind of leadership

in the parish which would accept the fact that dissent in the church is normal and healthy and that there would be some who would leave because they could not agree with the policy carried on by the majority.

Role Strain--Parish Finances

Question: "How about finances? I get a parish newspaper and I get a few indications that actual Sunday-by-Sunday income is down. Is that true?" Schaeffer agreed:

> A little bit. It's interesting. We had a professional fund-raiser come and see me about our finances and wondering if he could help raise the level of giving. So I outlined what was happening, that giving was down a little bit, but we also have a $100,000 investment fund. And we can take money out of that any time we need money so this balances off. /The $100,000 fund was obtained from the sale of one of the church properties./ After talking to me he came to the conclusion, "I think your giving is as good as it can be at this point. I can't do a thing for you." One big thing about the finance people in this congregation is that they have been screaming wolf for three years and saying we are going down the drain. And for three years we haven't gone down the drain. People are on to this and they say, "Who's kidding us. Heck we have $100,000. I'm not too worried about it." They are not about to increase their pledge with this kind of stuff. After two years, we had 15 people who decided we weren't sinking and so they started pledging again. And on the other hand, the new kind of members we are getting are not the kind of people who make large pledges or have money to begin with. We have a number of older people who have fixed incomes; they won't increase. But the type of memberships we get coming in are not in the area where they are making the most money in their life. /Students, young couples/ So, financially you will hear a lot of screaming, "we're going down the drain tomorrow!" . . . I gave an accurate three-page prediction last year at the end of the meeting about our church finances. Exactly what was going to happen and it has happened. No problems. But they are always very worried. I think they are used to it; maybe they feel guilty not being worried.

Paul Schaeffer moves into one of the sensitive areas of pastoral relationships in discussing church finances. Data on this point reveal considerable tension between pastors and people which will be discussed

more fully in Chapter VIII. Although Schaeffer has shown administrative ability in his present executive position in industry after leaving the parish ministry, he resisted the idea of the pastor being the stewardship leader of the congregation. In terms of role definition, there seems little question that the pastor's role in fund-raising in the parish must be completely separated from his actual leadership position. It is clear that both lay and clergy consider the fund-raising function to be a lay responsibility. The problem of transition from the traditional stereotype of the pastor pleading for money to laymen accepting responsibility has been made successfully by many congregations, including the Church of the Cross served by Pastor Schaeffer.

Role Strain--Precipitating Events Leading to Leaving the Parish Ministry

Question: "Now that you have made the transition, you seem a great deal relieved as compared to our interview in September in Asilomar. Would you care to tell me how you feel about the transition? How do you feel inside? What is your general feeling about making the change?" Schaeffer answered:

> Well, probably one of the things that started me thinking about the change was an attack of fatigue I had about two years ago. It knocked me out of commission for about two months, really. I thought, "boy, you know you better start living now or you are never going to live. You're going to die." In fact the doctor said, "You really want to do all this? Doing all this stuff you are doing? I don't know how you are going to make it. You really feel that is what you want to do?" That is all he said. I went home and figured that out. It meant if you want to do that, you are not going to live very long. I went back a few weeks later and said, "I think I want to live." So he said, "O.K." That is exactly what he meant. I started

> thinking about all this, you know. So that was something of a factor that started me thinking about all this. I could have said, "I am dedicated; I'll let my guts eat out and I'll have ulcers and heart attacks and all that junk," but I think there is another way. I think that all this other is still true that I have said about the transition happening about being a worker-priest, a minister-at-large while making your own money. Being your own man. That is really what it amounts to and still being a minister.

This remarkably candid expression of opinion from a man who had just finished twenty-three years in the parish ministry speaks for itself in revealing tensions and reasons for leaving the active parish ministry, but a continuing hope that role redefinition can be successful.

CHAPTER VIII

ROLE STRESS IN THE MODERN PERIOD, 1965-1970

Procedures

Historical case studies of four representative Lutheran clergymen were presented in Chapters V, VI and VII. The three time periods covered were from 1900-1920, 1920-1945, and 1945-1970. This chapter will focus on the years 1965-1970. Data will be presented from a survey and interviews to answer questions about the impact of social change on the Lutheran clergy role.

On May 19, 1969, a questionnaire,[1] developed to measure the impact of social change on the role of the clergy, was submitted to 289 delegates attending the eighth annual convention of the Pacific Southwest Synod of the Lutheran Church in America. The convention was held in the International Hotel, Los Angeles, California. The survey instrument described in Chapter IV was distributed to the delegates at the close of the first day's business sessions by pre-arrangement with the president of the Synod. The actual number of delegates in attendance at that session was determined as the number who cast ballots a few minutes before the questionnaires were distributed.

The President of the Synod, Dr. Carl Segarhammar, described the survey as a research project of the Committee on Church Vocations of the Synod. Cooperation was requested by the President. In submitting the

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[1] Appendix C.

questionnaire, the writer asked for an immediate response, and requested that the questionnaire be completed, if at all possible, before the delegates left the convention hall, and be placed in receptacles in the lobby. The very high rate of return, 94 percent, of those clergy and lay delegates in attendance at that particular session is one measurement of the degree of interest in the subject. The sample includes 133 clergy and 142 lay leaders of the Pacific Southwest Synod.

Description of the Sample

The delegates attending the eighth annual convention of the Pacific Southwest Synod were approximately evenly divided between cler and lay members of the Lutheran Church. Clergy delegates included those serving parishes, some in an administrative capacity, and some in other types of approved pastoral work including chaplains in the armed forces, teachers at colleges and seminaries, retired clergy, and some "awaiting call." Clergy delegates attend the annual conventions of the Synod as a part of their clerical responsibilities.[2] Lay delegates are elected by the church council of their congregations.[3] The annual convention of the Pacific Southwest Synod is the highest authority of the Synod in terms of its policy-making decision,[4] subject to the ultimate authority of the Lutheran Church in America.

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[2]Pacific Southwest Synod of the Lutheran Church in America, Constitution, Art. I, sec. 5.

[3]Lutheran Church in America, Approved Constitution for Congregations, Art. 8, sec. 7.

[4]Constitution, op. cit., Art. II, sec. 1.

At the annual convention officers of the synod are elected, budgets are approved, policy statements are made, and delegates are elected to the national convention of the Lutheran Church in America, the national parent body. The Synod includes Lutheran Church of America congregations in Utah, Arizona, Nevada, California, and Hawaii. All of the clergy of the Pacific Southwest Synod are college graduates who have completed three or four years of graduate study in theology. Forty-three of the 133 clergy who responded to the questionnaire had completed at least one year of graduate study beyond theological school. The clergy sample then represents the ordained, professional ministers of the Pacific Southwest Synod of the Lutheran Church in America.

Of the 142 lay delegates, 98 responding to the questionnaire had completed college and 18 had completed one or more years of graduate study. The lay delegates have been subdivided for most questions into two groups: delegates who were members of church councils, the policy-making groups of the congregations, designated as "council members," and delegates who were not council members and were identified by the term "lay delegates." In several cases the opinions expressed by these two groups of non-clergy were so similar that they were grouped together under the general category, "laymen." In other cases the differences of opinion were distinct enough so that the two separate categories were retained.

The questionnaire (Appendix C) was used to determine answers to these questions: (1) What was the Lutheran clergy role definition for the periods 1900-1920 and 1920-1945 as perceived by present-day Lutheran clergy and lay leaders? (2) What are the most important Lutheran

ministerial duties today? (3) How long is the Lutheran clergy work-week? (4) What are the greatest sources of role strain among the Lutheran clergy today? (5) What steps can be taken to relieve role strain among the Lutheran clergy today? (6) Are Lutheran ministers satisfied with their role? (7) What changes have taken place in Lutheran clergy role performance in the past three years?

These questions were designed to elicit information which would be useful in resolving the larger questions posed earlier in the study: Has social change affected the clergy role ascription, perception, and performance? Do clergy and lay leaders perceive the clerical role differently? Is there role strain among clergy and lay leaders today? Is there a need for redefinition of the clergy role?

In the questionnaire and follow-up interviews, an attempt is made to measure the impact of social change on the clergy role as seen by representative clergy and laity of the Pacific Southwest Synod. Differences in role perception are measured and described.

What was the Definition of the Lutheran Clergy Role for the Period 1900-1925?

In question 5 of the survey instrument, clergy and lay leaders were asked to respond to the following statement: "During the period 1900-1920, some writers have described the composite role of the minister as preacher-teacher-guardian of public and private morals. The choices were: "I think that description was accurate for the period; I think that description is not accurate for the period; I have no opinion."

Seventy-three percent of the clergy sample reporting agreed that the definition of the Lutheran clergy role for the period as preacher, teacher, guardian of public and private morals was accurate. Seventeen percent of the clergy said it was not accurate and 10 percent said they had no opinion.

It is evident that the more mature clergy, those 40 years old and older, were most positive that this was an accurate description of the clergy role for that period. In the age group 40 to 49, agreement reached a high of 96 percent. Table 1 reports the response of the clergy to the question of role definition.

TABLE 1

PRESENT-DAY LUTHERAN CLERGY'S VIEW OF THE CLERGY'S ROLE IN 1900-1925, DEFINED AS PREACHER-TEACHER-GUARDIAN OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE MORALS

Age	Accurate	Not Accurate	No Opinion	Total No. Reporting
20-29	5	1	1	7
30-39	30	12	7	49
40-49	24	1	0	25
50-59	21	4	3	28
60-69	3	1	1	5
70-79	3	2	0	5
No age given	8	1	0	9
Total	94	22	12	128

Sixty-eight percent of the council members responding to the same statement reported that the role definition for the period was accurate. Thirteen percent disagreed and 19 percent registered no opinion. The older council members, 40 and above, and particularly those over 50, who are closer in chronological age to the period described, have a higher degree of agreement with this role definition than the younger council members who are further removed in chronological age from the period under discussion.

TABLE 2

PRESENT-DAY COUNCIL MEMBER'S VIEW OF THE LUTHERAN CLERGY'S ROLE IN 1900-1925, DEFINED AS PREACHER-TEACHER-GUARDIAN OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE MORALS

Age	Accurate	Not Accurate	No Opinion	Total No. Reporting
20-29	8	0	1	9
30-39	10	5	5	20
40-49	16	2	7	25
50-59	8	2	0	10
60-69	10	2	3	15
70-79	3	0	0	3
No age given	5	0	1	6
Total	60	11	17	88

An even higher degree of consensus is found among the lay delegates, of whom 74 percent agreed that the role definition was accurate, 8 percent stated that it was not accurate, and 18 percent had no opinion.

TABLE 3

PRESENT-DAY LAY LEADER'S VIEW OF THE LUTHERAN CLERGY ROLE IN 1900-1925, DEFINED AS PREACHER-TEACHER-GUARDIAN OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE MORALS

Age	Accurate	Not Accurate	No Opinion	Total No. Reporting
20-29	4	0	1	5
30-39	10	1	2	13
40-49	8	1	2	11
50-59	5	1	2	8
60-69	5	1	2	8
70-79	1	0	0	1
No age given	1	0	2	3
Total	35	4	11	49

TABLE 4

PRESEND-DAY LUTHERAN CLERGY'S VIEW OF THE CLERGY ROLE IN 1925-1945, DEFINED AS PREACHER-TEACHER-ADMINISTRATOR

Age	Agree	Disagree	No Opinion	Total No. Reporting
20-29	6	0	1	7
30-39	35	7	7	49
40-49	18	6	1	25
50-59	24	3	1	28
60-69	5	1	0	6
70-79	3	1	0	4
No age given	7	1	1	9
Total	98	19	11	128

TABLE 5

PRESENT-DAY COUNCIL MEMBER'S VIEW OF THE LUTHERAN CLERGY ROLE IN 1925-1945, DEFINED AS PREACHER-TEACHER-ADMINISTRATOR

Age	Agree	Disagree	No Opinion	Total No. Reporting
20-29	3	0	6	9
30-39	15	1	4	20
40-49	21	1	3	25
50-59	10	1	0	11
60-69	11	2	0	13
70-79	2	0	0	2
No age given	4	0	1	5
Total	66	6	14	85

TABLE 6

PRESENT-DAY LUTHERAN LAY LEADER'S VIEW OF THE CLERGY ROLE IN 1920-1945, DEFINED AS PREACHER-TEACHER-ADMINISTRATOR

Age	Agree	Disagree	No Opinion	Total No. Reporting
20-29	3	1	1	5
30-39	11	0	2	13
40-49	10	0	1	11
50-59	6	0	2	8
60-69	7	1	0	8
70-79	1	0	0	1
No age given	1	0	2	3
Total	39	2	8	49

TABLE 7

ORDER OF IMPORTANCE OF LUTHERAN MINISTERIAL DUTIES AS SEEN BY PRESENT-DAY CLERGY AND LAYMEN

As Seen by Clergy	As Seen by Laymen (Council and Lay)
1. Sermon preparation	1. Sermon preparation
2. Sacraments	2. Sacraments
3. Teaching	3. Counseling
4. Counseling	4. Teaching
5. Calling	5. Calling
6. Community activities	6. Community activities
7. Office administration	7. Public relations
8. Public relations	8. Office administration
9. Fund-raising	9. Fund-raising

There seems to be no significant difference in the age distribution in relation to the varying responses in this group of lay delegates. The percentage reporting no opinion is almost identical with the percentage of council members replying to this question.

How is the Lutheran Clergy Role Defined for the Period 1925-1945?

In response to the statement, "During the period 1900-1945 the role of the clergy has been described as preacher-teacher-administrator," three choices were possible: "I agree, I disagree, I have no opinion." Here 76 percent of the clergy agreed, 15 percent disagreed, and 9 percent had no opinion. There is a slightly greater percentage of agreement among older clergy in the age brackets 40-49 and 50-59 than among the younger clergy. This may reflect their own experience in the period indicated, since the older clergy, those 40-49, would have been receiving theological training during the last part of the period, while those 50-59 and 60-69 would have been serving the early years of their ministry at that time. The oldest group, 70-79, agree at the same percentage as the total sample. This is the age group most clearly identified with the period.

Among the council members, agreement with the "preacher-teacher-administrator" definition for the period 1925-1945 reached 77 percent; 7 percent disagreed and 16 percent had no opinion. Six of the nine youngest council members reporting had no opinion. Of the age group 30-39, four of twenty or 20 percent had no opinion. Starting with age 40-49 where there would be a direct experiental knowledge of the period,

the ratio of agreement of the role definition moved to 84 percent and in the 50-59 age group to 99 percent; it dropped back to 84 percent in the age group 60-69.

The responses of the lay delegates were similar to those of the council members reported above. Seventy-nine percent of the lay delegates agreed, 4 percent disagreed and 17 percent had no opinion. Again the trend was that the older lay delegates were slightly more sure of the accuracy of the role definition than were younger delegates. Results are shown in Tables 5 and 6.

What are the Most Important Lutheran Ministerial Duties Today as Seen by Present-Day Clergy and Lay Leaders?

Present-day clergy and laymen tend to rank ministerial duties in the same order of importance. Reports of council members and lay delegates in the sample were so similar that they were combined for this phase of the study.

When asked to rank in importance nine ministerial duties on a scale in which number one represents the most important duty and number nine the least important, the clergy in the sample listed sermon preparation first and fund-raising last. Other duties in order of importance as seen by the clergy are shows in Table 7.

The laymen's perceptions of the importance of ministerial duties showed strong similarities to the clergy's, with sermon preparation first and fund-raising last on both lists. However, the laymen listed counseling as the third most important duty while clergy ranked it as fourth in importance. It is significant that both clergy and laymen considered

office administration as well as fund-raising to be low in importance. Office administration was ranked seventh by the clergy and eighth by the laymen. In studies of actual role performance the clergy reported that they are doing more office work and fund-raising now than formerly. (See Table 14). If clergy and laymen agree that office administration and fund-raising are relatively unimportant and yet the clergy report doing more work in both of these fields, a source of potential strain is revealed.

Data presented here support the findings of Kloetzli as reported by Glock and Stark, that laymen tend to report clergy duties as most important if they are most visible to them.[5]

How Long is the Present Lutheran Clergy Work Week?

In question 9 of the survey instrument, "Estimate the hours you or your pastor spend on an average week on these activities," the nine clergy activities shown in Table 7 were listed, perparing sermons and talks, administering sacraments, fund-raising, office administration, counseling, teaching, calling, community activities, and public relations. Space was provided for an "I do not know" response. The clergy of this sample reported a work week of 49.8 hours. There was considerable variation within the sample; the younger clergy reported a work week of 56 hours while the older clergy, those 50-59 years of age, reported 44 hours.[6]

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[5]See Charles Y. Glock and Rodney Stark, Religion and Society in Tension (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965), pp. 145-147.

[6]For data on an earlier study, see ibid., p. 145.

Laymen underestimated the working time spent by their pastors by almost one full working day a week. The mean work week estimated by laymen of the sample (combined council members and lay delegates) was 41.2 hours. This underestimation of the clergy work week by council members and lay leaders shows a discrepancy serious enough to cause role strain for both clergy and lay leaders.

What are the Greatest Sources of Role Strain Among the Lutheran Clergy Today?

Clergy and lay leaders were asked the question, "What are the factors preventing you as pastor or preventing your pastor from reaching his goals?" Respondents were then asked to rank those on the following list in order of importance: demands from congregation to do things he doesn't feel are important; demands from church superiors to do things he doesn't think are important; lack of ability to organize his time; lack of clear understanding of what his goals are; a feeling that he is alone in his work; economic hardship--not enough personal income; and, I don't know.

Lutheran clergy and lay leaders in this sample agree that the greatest source of frustration in the life of the clergy are demands from the congregation to do things the pastor feels to be unimportant. Thirty-nine percent of the clergy listed "demands from the congregation to do things he doesn't think are important" as the greatest single source of role strain. Thirty-seven percent of the lay leaders, also, listed demands from the congregation as the most obvious source of strain for the clergyman.

The ranking of factors preventing the pastor from reaching his goals as reported by clergy and lay leaders is shown in Table 8 while "Demands from the congregation" is ranked first by both clergy and lay, with very similar percentages; the remainder of the ranking shows some important differences. The clergy list in second position lack of clear personal goals; in third place, feeling alone; in fourth place, lack of ability to organize time; and in fifth place, demands from church superiors.

TABLE 8

SOURCES OF GREATEST STRAIN IN PERFORMANCE OF THE CLERGY ROLE AS REPORTED BY PRESENT-DAY LUTHERAN CLERGY AND LAY LEADERS
(in percentages)

As Seen by Clergy	%	As Seen by Laymen	%
Demands from congregation	39	Demands from congregation	37
Lack of clear personal goals	19	Feeling "alone"	21
Feeling "alone"	14	Economic hardship	16
Lack of ability to organize time	13	Demands from church superiors	12
Economic hardship	8	Lack of clear personal goals	6
Demands from church superiors	5	Lack of ability to organize time	6

Laymen, on the other hand, see the pastor feeling alone as the second greatest source of strain and list economic hardship--low personal income--as the third most important source in their judgment. It is interesting to note that while laymen, who determine the clergy salaries, list economic hardship as the third most important factor, the clergy list

does not show economic hardship as one of the first five sources of strain. The lay list also shows demands from church superiors in their estimation to be twice as important as actually reported by the clergy; and on the lay list the lack of clear personal goals is placed at the bottom whereas it is in the second spot on the clergy list.

Thus there is substantial agreement as to the greatest single source of frustration, but important divergence in the identification of secondary sources.

Since "demands from the congretation" is also particularly mentioned in the interviews which are discussed later in this chapter, this factor seems to warrant greater investigation. A possible inquiry would be to determine whether the demands from the congregation as felt by the clergy are more in the minds of the clergy than actual. The clergy list lack of clear personal goals, the problem of feeling alone, and lack of ability to organize time as problems that are very real to them. It may well be that it is these inner conflicts rather than the external demands from the congregation which are the source of role strain.

Since both clergy and lay leaders see the problem as one of demands from the congregation, a further question needs to be asked: "Why doesn't dialogue between the clergy and at least leaders of the congregation begin?" It is at this point that we recognize a breakdown of clergy and lay communication.

Clergy Response to Community Conflict as a Source of Role Strain

A possible source of friction between clergy and lay leaders in perception of the clergy role is in clergy reaction to community conflict.

The question posed was: "When conflicts arise in our community on racial or economic matters, I believe the pastor should: remain neutral and not express himself; work actively to bring about a settlement; make his views known in sermons but let others work out a settlement."

As seen in Table 9, 72 percent of the clergy expressed the opinion that the pastor should work actively to bring about a settlement. Only 1 respondent out of 133 indicated that the pastor should remain neutral and not express himself. Twenty-seven percent of the clergy indicated that their response would be the traditional one of preaching sermons on the source of conflict and taking no further action.

By way of contrast, 60 percent of the lay leaders reporting indicated that pastors should "work actively to bring about a settlement," while 10 percent indicated that the pastor should remain neutral and not express himself. About the same percentage as the clergy indicated that the response should be preaching sermons and not direct action.

TABLE 9

PREFERRED LUTHERAN CLERGY RESPONSE TO COMMUNITY CONFLICT AS SEEN BY CLERGY AND LAY LEADERS (in percentages)

As Seen by Clergy	%	As Seen by Laymen	%
Work to bring about settlement	72	Work to bring about settlement	60
Preach - not act	27	Preach - not act	30
Remain silently neutral	1	Remain silently neutral	10

If the 10 percent of the lay members who want their pastor to remain neutral are in positions of leadership on the council and would be confronting a pastor who has activist tendencies, the sources of conflict can readily be seen. However, the dichotomy here between parish clergy and parishoners is not as great as some earlier studies by Hadden would indicate.[7] Hadden makes a distinction confirmed by Glock[8] and others that the parish clergy are less likely to be involved in activist movements than those clergy who are in specialized ministries such as a ministry to the campus, or in administrative work.

There seems to be a potential source of strain between clergy who are more activist and lay leaders who are more traditional-minded in their view of what the clergy role should be. This difference of role perception can lead to role strain in a specific conflict situation.

What Steps Can be Taken to Relieve Role Strain of the Lutheran Clergy Today?

Question 16 asks, "What would you suggest as ways to help the pastor reach his goals?" The choices are: "more academic training; discussion with church superiors; dialogue with members of the policy-making group in our congregation (church council); discussion groups with other clergy about common problems; pastoral consultation." Clergy and lay leaders in this study agree that dialogue with church councils is the place to begin to resolve role strain between clergy and laity.

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[7]Jeffrey K. Hadden, "Clergy Involvement in Civil Rights," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, Vol. 387 (January 1970), pp. 119-127.

[8]Charles Glock, Interview, May 28, 1970.

TABLE 10

PREFERRED WAYS OF RELIEVING LUTHERAN CLERGY ROLE STRAIN AS REPORTED BY CLERGY AND LAY LEADERS (in percentages)

As Seen by Clergy	%	As Seen by Laymen	%
Dialogue with council	44	Dialogue with council	48
Discussion groups with clergy	28	Discussion groups with clergy	36
Pastoral consultations	12	Pastoral consultations	9
More academic training	9	More academic training	5
Discussion with church superiors	6	Discussion with church superiors	1

If clergy and lay leaders see dialogue with church councils as the preferred way of beginning to resolve role strain, identified with clergy dissatisfaction over too much time spent in office administration and fund-raising and misunderstanding by the laity of role changes as reported previously, why doesn't the dialogue between clergy and church councils begin?

Are Lutheran Ministers Satisfied with Their Role?

Question 10 of the survey asked: "How would you describe your own or your pastor's attitude toward his ministry? Respondents were given the following choices: "very satisfied; moderately satisfied; moderately dissatisfied; very dissatisfied; I don't know."

While 35 percent of the clergy reported in response to the question that they are "very satisfied" with the ministry, 25 percent reported that they are moderately dissatisfied, and 3 percent that they are very dissatisfied. The analysis by age groups seems to suggest that most of

the very young clergy, age 20-29, are moderately satisfied with their role. In the next age group, 30-39, the percentage of moderately satisfied clergy drops sharply and that of the moderately dissatisfied rises sharply. It is in this group that the first danger point appears, when a clergyman who has been ordained five to fifteen years has discovered role strain and is finding difficulty resolving his problems. Many church administrators report that it is in this age bracket that those of the clergy who leave the parish ministry usually fall.[9]

The next age group, 40 to 49, divides almost evenly in the matter of role satisfaction. Thirty-seven percent reported that they are very satisfied, 39 percent that they are moderately satisfied, and 27 percent that they are moderately dissatisfied.

In the age group 50 to 59, a second crisis point can be identified. The percentage who are very satisfied drops and a small number reported that they are very dissatisfied or "I don't know." This response may reflect a man's uncertainty as to his future status as he approaches the end of his career.

In the 60 to 69 age group, normally representing the last decade of active ministry, the smallest percentage of the clergy reported that they are very satisfied and the highest percentage reported that they are very dissatisfied. This would indicate that in the period just prior to retirement ministers are receiving less satisfaction and showing more dissatisfaction with their role than at any other time in their ministry, a facet which will be explored more fully in the interviews later in this section.

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[9]See interviews with Dr. Robert Marshall, Dr. Martin Marty, Dr. Charles Glock and others, pp. 163-166.

TABLE 11

DEGREE OF SATISFACTION WITH THE CLERGY ROLE
AS SEEN BY PRESENT-DAY LUTHERAN CLERGY
(in percentages)

Age	Very Satisfied	Moderately Satisfied	Moderately Dissatisfied	Very Dissatisfied	Don't know	Total No. Reporting
20-29	25	62	13	0	0	18
30-39	23	39	33	4	0	51
40-49	37	37	37	0	0	19
50-59	33	44	11	4	4	27
60-69	20	40	40	0	0	5
70-79	33	25	25	0	0	4
No age given	50	25	25	0	0	4
						119

Two critical periods are pinpointed by these responses. In the 30 to 39 age group of the clergy is seen the period from five to fifteen years after ordination when the "honeymoon" of the young clergyman and his parish is over and stress and uncertainty appears as to the future. A great stress factor also appears in the 50 to 59-year-olds which may again be uncertainty as to what the future may hold when a clergyman's active ministry terminates.

In contrast to reports by the clergy, more than half of the council members, 51 percent, perceive their clergyman as "very satisfied."

Fewer see their minister as "moderately dissatisfied." Both council members and clergy report 3 percent of the clergy as being "very dissatisfied." Lay delegates make observations similar to those of council members except that no lay delegate reported any "very dissatisfied" clergy. Clergy report less satisfaction and more dissatisfaction with the clergy role than is perceived by lay leaders. Results appear in Tables 12 and 13.

TABLE 12

DEGREE OF SATISFACTION WITH THE CLERGY ROLE
AS SEEN BY PRESENT-DAY COUNCIL MEMBERS

Age	Very Satisfied	Moderately Satisfied	Moderately Dissatisfied	Very Dissatisfied	Don't know	Total No. Reporting
20-29	63	27	0	0	9	11
30-39	36	32	22	11	0	19
40-49	50	19	19	4	8	26
50-59	72	18	9	0	0	11
60-69	47	20	13	0	20	15
70-79	66	0	33	0	0	3
No age given	25	0	75	0	0	4
						89

TABLE 13

DEGREE OF SATISFACTION WITH THE CLERGY ROLE
AS SEEN BY PRESENT-DAY LAY LEADERS
(in percentages)

Age	Very Satisfied	Moderately Satisfied	Moderately Dissatisfied	Very Dissatisfied	Don't know	Total No. Reporting
20-29	20	40	20	0	20	5
30-39	58	25	17	0	0	12
40-49	36	36	28	0	0	11
50-59	17	50	17	0	17	6
60-69	63	25	13	0	0	8
70-79	0	100	0	0	0	1
No age given	100	0	0	0	0	3
						46

What Changes Have Taken Place in Lutheran Clergy Role-Performance in the Past Three Years?

In item 17 of the survey, respondents were asked to describe changes observed in clergy role performance in the last three years. Two columns followed. Statements in column one showed more counseling, more time spent on administration, more involvement in the community, more time spent on sermon preparation, more calling on members, more calling on prospective members, more time for advanced training, more emphasis on stewardship. Statements in column two indicated less time

or emphasis on corresponding items. Respondents were asked to make a choice between each pair.

Eighty-three percent of the clergy reported that they are doing more counseling. Only 41 percent of the lay leaders confirmed this--a 42 percent discrepancy. More than half of the lay leaders reported either that their pastor was doing less counseling, or had no opinion as to his work-load in this area.

In office administration, the contrast is even more obvious. Seventy-six percent of the clergy reported more time spent on office administration, while only 23 percent of the lay leaders concurred. Here is a discrepancy of 53 percent. There is at this point, then, a complete misconception on the part of the layman of clergy role performance. When it is further noted that the clergy placed office administration seventh in ranking pastoral duties in the order of importance, it is understandable that the clergy show dissatisfaction with this part of their changing role performance.

Forty-six percent of the clergy reported that they are spending more time in stewardship; only 30 percent of the lay leaders recognized this as a change in the clergy role. Both clergy and lay leaders listed stewardship, i.e., fund-raising, last on their list of important duties to be performed by the clergy. To paraphrase an advertising slogan, the clergy are "Doing it more and liking it less."

More involvement in community affairs was reported by 76 percent of the clergy, while only 42 percent of the laity recognized greater clergy involvement in the community. When actual and potential sources of conflict around this issue are taken into consideration (see Table 9),

a further discrepancy between clergy and lay perception of the clergy role becomes obvious.

According to 38 percent of the clergy, less time is being spent on sermon preparation, a change recognized by only 15 percent of council and other lay leaders. Admittedly this is a difficult measurement for laymen to make, but since both clergy and lay leaders indicate that sermon preparation is the number one duty of the clergy, it would seem that here again is a source of potential stress as the clergy report spending less time on a duty which they have listed as being the most important.

Calling on members has declined, according to 47 percent of the clergy; only 18 percent of the lay leaders recognize this change.

So also with calling on prospective members: less time is reported by 36 percent of the clergy, while 27 percent of council and lay leaders recognize this role change. It should be pointed out, however, that unless the clergy make detailed reports on the number of calls completed on either members or prospective members, there is no accurate way that the individual council members or other members of the congregation can measure clergy performance in this area. Of the seven categories measured, the one dealing with prospective members shows greatest agreement between reports made by the clergy and perception of lay leaders as to the extent of the change. Perhaps the greater agreement between the two groups can be explained by the fact that the Pacific Southwest Synod has had virtually no growth in the past three years.[10]

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[10]Pacific Southwest Synod, Minutes of Sixth Annual Convention, 1967; Minutes of Seventh Annual Convention, 1968; Minutes of Eighth Annual Convention, 1969.

TABLE 14

OBSERVED CHANGES IN LUTHERAN CLERGY ROLE PERFORMANCE IN PAST THREE YEARS AS REPORTED BY CLERGY AND LAY LEADERS
(in percentage)

As Seen by Clergy	%	As Seen by Laymen	%
More counseling	83	More counseling	41
More office administration	76	More office administration	23
More time on stewardship	46	More time on stewardship	30
More community involvement	76	More community involvement	42
Less calling on members	47	Less calling on members	18
Less time on sermon preparation	38	Less time on sermon preparation	15
Less calling on prospects	36	Less calling on prospects	27

In summary, as reported by the clergy, the time they spend on counseling, office administration, community involvement, and fund-raising has greatly increased. Lay leaders participating in the survey had little concept of the scope of these changes in the work of their pastors, as evidenced by the discrepancies noted above. This has created a very real dichotomy between clergy and laity in their perceptions of clergy role changes in the past three years.

Follow-Up Interviews--Parish Related Clergy

In order to explore feelings and attitudes that were not made clear in the survey instrument reported in this chapter, a series of follow-up interviews was arranged beginning in September 1969 and continuing into April 1970. An attempt was made to get a random sampling of clergy in the various age brackets covered in the questionnaire.

The views of a young pastor identified as Pastor Y serving a West Coast large urban congregation are recorded here. He describes the frustrations he feels in the ministry during the early "honeymoon period" and how he sees frustrations developing in older clergy.

> Well, my frustrations at this point haven't had time to gravitate to particular areas. . . . I anticipate frustrations and am having a few about the priorities in allocations of my time. . . . I would see a lot of the frustration of older pastors--being confronted with the changing image of the ministry, with the tensions that are in effect in our society now, and attempting to move their congregation; or if they themselves are resisting the move they encounter, I am sure, all kinds of frustrations along these lines. With the younger pastors, most of them seem to be frustrated because of the immovable qualities that a lot of congregations exhibit. Young pastors seem to be several years ahead of their congregations in social action. . . .[11]

In this interview the young pastor confirms the data secured in the survey that pastors in the 20-30 bracket were either "very satisfied" or "moderately satisfied" with their pastoral role and that no serious frustrations had developed.

Two interviews were held with pastors in the 30-40 age bracket since this was the largest single age category of clergy interviews in the survey as shown by the questionnaire. One pastor in this group, who is conducting a ministry somewhat different from the average, will be identified here as Pastor M. He describes the particular emphasis of his ministry:

> Since my approach is an inter-personal approach in small groups, I'd say it is difficult for me sometimes to perceive that what I am doing is working, rather than just sitting down and shooting the bull with somebody. . . . One of the questions that people frequently raise with me is "What is

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[11]In all these interviews, names are withheld by request. Pastor Y, Interview, October 1970.

> the difference between what you do and what a psychologist would do and why is it supposedly unique to the church and so why would you necessarily do this in the church?" That poses a kind of threat to me.[12]

In this context Pastor M described a parish program within his small congregation. He established therapeutic groups, with himself as moderator. He then went on to speak of something which has been identified as the tentmaker concept in the changing role of the clergy.

> One of the things I have also /questioned/ in my own life is whether or not the reason you stay within the church is because it is a secure place, because you couldn't go out and get a job to do something else. And I know that with the fellows I have talked with it seems to be a tremendous relief when they find out they can do something else.

Here Pastor M strikes the same chord which was sounded by Pastor Paul Schaeffer who made a repeated point of finding it necessary for his own sense of well-being to be his "own man," to prove himself in some vocation other than the ministry.

Another interview with a parish pastor, Pastor R, shows the development of an activist concept of the pastoral role which has already been discussed as a possible source of tension. He describes some of his present activities and involvement in the political process while he still retains his identity as a parish pastor.

> An example would be in Sacramento which is the seat of the California state government, where I have been extremely active in some of the legislative processes and particularly with the California Church Councils Legislative Analysts Bureau and /where I have/ served on the Legislative Alert Newsletter Committee. The attempt there I guess is that it would try to alert people to the responsibilities in the political structure. . . . I think that I am seeing my ministry now as an attempt to help people

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[12]Pastor M, Interview, October 1969.

> to operate within what structures there are rather than create additional structures to put a life or new life into some structures that may or may not be tremendously viable--because there are some viable structures available.[13]

Another pastor, Pastor F, in the age bracket 40-50 speaks also of his activist concept of the pastoral role.

> I see the pastoral role changing in terms of the pastor's becoming more of a specialist, a feeling as though he would like to experiment more in terms of / a / new ministry; in ministries that would cut into the social area in terms of meeting some of the social needs of society and involving his people more in service areas. I see the pastoral role changing in that the pastor, rather than being a visitor and preacher and teacher, more the enabler of his laymen to be involved not only with other parishioners, but involved in areas where there might be brought about a change in the social structure within society.[14]

In the age bracket 50-60 the pastor interviewed had had some sixteen years of clinical experience as a practicing psychologist before returning to the pastoral role serving a congregation in a Western state. He will be identified here as Pastor E. When asked to discuss changes in the pastoral role that he had seen in the last ten years, he answered as follows:

> I personally see now the ministry as being a discipline in which pastors become experts in the field of helping themselves, helping others into what I call a "faith and grace relationship." /What are we to believe about/ the most despicable person that we may run across, the most hypocritical person? Now the easy answer is to say he is a hypocrit or he is insincere. To me this is so easy to say, yet when we have said this we have never really said the whole truth. We never /have/ really /defined/ just what this person really is. And at that point /we need/ faith. There may not be very many visible signs that this person is a person who has been created in the image of God. Now at this point I have to make a

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[13] Pastor R, Interview, October 1969.

[14] Pastor F, Interview, October 1969.

> decision. I have to make a choice. How am I going to relate to this person? What are my choices going to be? I choose to decide either that I am going to relate to /him/ as if /he/ were /a/ child of God or /as if he were/ not a child of God. That is why I say it has to be a faith, grace relationship.

Here Pastor E talks about one of his clinical experiences as a professional counselor. He states that his concept even of the counseling relationship was predetermined by a value system which he received within the Christian church and the ministry. He describes this as a faith-grace relationship. Other clinically trained people without theological background would more likely use such terms as trust and openness or trust and love rather than faith-grace. But the principle that he establishes here of a deepening relationship between pastor and people and not of judging people according to a stereotyped pattern dictated by a moral code has important bearing on the ministry.

An interview with Pastor H who is between 60 and 70 years old confirmed some of the frustrations felt by pastors in this age bracket which came out of the questionnaire. When asked the question, "As you look on your ministry and think of it in the present context, what would you describe as the major frustration a Lutheran pastor has in dealing with social change?" Pastor H replied,

> I suppose I would have to say that you just don't get the thing done that you hoped and are trying to do. Frustrations, they come from all angles, from all sides, and every one of them differs. /To/ try to put them in a general category I think would be a very difficult thing. I can see from the point of view /of/ my thinking right now in my ministry among retired adults or mostly retired adults, that if I were to go back now to the normal pattern of the ministry . . . I doubt whether I would be able to make the grade. I see . . . young men coming out into congregations with problems, with frustrations that I probably had in my early ministry and maybe all along the way;

> but now they . . . /seem to face what/ I visualize as an impossible task. And frankly I just don't see how these younger men in normal congregational situations. . . . I just don't see how they can do it.[15]

This view by one of the older pastors in the sample confirms the findings of the survey that men in this age bracket tend to have a rather gloomy view of the parish ministry, since 40 percent of those responding indicated that they were "moderately satisfied" and 40 percent indicated that they were "moderately dissatisfied" with their role of the ministry. This is the highest percentage of all groups indicating current dissatisfaction with the ministry.

The number of black pastors serving in the Pacific Southwest Synod is small. But an interview with one of them indicates some of the special problems facing the black clergy in the process of social change. Says Pastor B:

> Well, as a pastor, of course I experience a great difficulty in my ministry because I am not the regular pattern of pastors. I belong also to a minority; I am different. It is hard for me to understand why Christians who are located in the different churches find it hard to accept the services of a non-white pastor. In the second place, it is difficult for me to locate myself in the ministry in the suburbs because of the very nature of these suburbs. There is very little acceptance, no warmth, and I imagine there will be a lot of problems that would come up in the service if I offered to minister to these communities. In the cities /where Pastor B is serving/ this is very easy to approach, but not so in the suburbs. I would experience a tremendous difficulty if I ever thought of moving into a conservative, white, suburban community.[16]

Here is a church trying to make an adjustment to social change by ordaining and calling black pastors who, of necessity in the total make-up of the Lutheran Church in America, will be serving congregations

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[15]Pastor H, Interview, September 1969.

[16]Pastor B, Interview, October 1969.

largely white or at best newly integrated. Some of the strains indicated are the personal feeling that he is not fully accepted, that he is limited in service to certain kinds of churches in the inner-city and would find it difficult to minister to an upper middle-class, white, suburban congregation.

In order to explore the feelings of men who left the active parish ministry to seek secular employment, a series of interviews was arranged with four pastors in the category "awaiting call." One of these, Pastor Paul Schaeffer, was the representative clergyman for the period 1945-1970. Excerpts from interviews with three other men are of interest because they show us a particular kind of frustration and a pattern of nonconformity which led them to leave the parish ministry and to find employment in non-church related work.

One of the things that became apparent in interviews with these men who are not presently active in the parish ministry is a plea for greater flexibility in defining the pastor's traditional role. Pastor DD, who has left the parish ministry, and is "awaiting call," now has a responsible position in city planning. He said:

> One of the things that I want to get at is that part of the change in culture is that no man can say that he is choosing a vocation and that's it. It used to be the style of life; it no longer is. I'm on my third career; /previous careers were business, the ministry, and now, urban planner/ I expect to have maybe one or two more. I think this is part of the excitement of the new life--and why do we put a stigma on it? We have an almost Roman view of the ministry; that once stamped you are stamped for life. I don't really see the ministry that way. I'd like to hang on to my ordination; it's in some big threat at the moment. If I lose it, so be it. It is even not perhaps worth fighting for. You know if the criteria is service of the Lord, who says I am not serving Him; and who says that every man who is ordained is?[17]

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[17]Pastor DD, Interview, November 1969.

Pastor DD then discussed how he sees changes occurring in the traditional roles of the Lutheran clergy, for example, the teaching role.

> I don't think the world wants the "rabbi" any longer. I don't think the world wants the teacher from the church. The church's teaching role is over. Its concern about education is not over, but it is going to be in influencing public education and in influencing higher education; it is not going to be in saying, "thou shalt, thou shalt not"; that role is over as is the simple rote learning of tradition.

One of the complaints listed by several of the men in these interviews was about the pastor's indefinite work week in which times of work were not clearly defined. Pastor DD says concerning this irregularity of work hours,

> The church has really got to do something about the ministry. Let's take the priesthood role in the parish. Why is it that a guy has to work seven days a week? Who says so? He's convinced he does. I haven't heard anybody say he has got to, but every minister I know wouldn't think of working five days a week or four and a half like his parishioner. . . .

Here Pastor DD is commenting on the fact that no one prescribes what the specific work hours of the minister should be. The survey indicates (see page 131) that the minister's work week is actually about 49.8 hours or roughly five days of 10 hours each, or six days of more than eight hours a day. "It is apparently not so much the actual amount of time spent in carrying out ministerial duties as the fact the minister is never able to say now I am through; it is time that I can go home."

Pastor DD also referred quite graphically to some of the tensions within a pastor's family when his role is not well defined. To the question, "How does your family feel about your going into this kind of /secular/ work now that it is different than the parish ministry?" he replied:

> Well, first you must understand my wife and I had been married sometime before I decided to go into the ministry; it came as quite a shock at that point. Probably the one who is most happy and gratified with my change is my wife because she just couldn't take parish life. She did it beautifully, but it was a real problem. We weathered it and she is not the reason I left. She knew that I had to be happy and integrated about what I was doing, so here we are.

He then referred to the fact that his children, 13, 10, 7 and 2 years of age, now feel closer to their father as he has a better defined role in secular employment. Pastor DD then goes on to elaborate his views of how the ministry could be strengthened by a worker-priest concept.

> Well, the biggest burden to me, and I'm not talking about the prophetic role now, I'm talking about the priesthood because the prophet will take care of himself, he will do as I have done. He will go into secular work and do his work there but let somebody else pay the salary. But the priest is dependent upon the church for the salary and it's his biggest headache. . . . That kind of burden has got to be taken away. It has to be in order for a guy first of all to move into the twentieth century and secondly to do an effective job. . . . There is an awful lot of things he does now that he doesn't really have to do. If he sees his role as priest and doesn't have to go running around to all the committee meetings all over town that somebody says he ought to be at. He is a priest. He counsels with families at hours that are convenient to him. He preaches a sermon maybe, although that is decreasing in importance instead of increasing. I don't think he really needs to be a preacher much any more. He certainly performs the sacramental function on Sunday morning or whenever the community happens to decide to worship. It doesn't have to be Sunday morning. And he visits the sick along with the parishioners. . . .There really doesn't need to be much more.

To the question, "Would you see the worker-priest then having what I would call an alternate set of skills that he might get as a teacher or social worker or as a sociologist that would be marketable, then he could do his priest role in a certain time slot?" he answered:

> Yes, that is true. Maybe substitute teaching is a beautiful example. One that would fit in well with his priestly role because he doesn't substitute teach on Sundays. But at the same time the danger is that the guy's not going to have any free time for his family either and that is something that has to be worked out very carefully. . . .

(By way of validation of his comment about substitute teachers, the Pacific Southwest Synod has one of its few worker-priests functioning in Arizona in precisely that capacity during the week and as a minister to a small resort-type congregation on Sunday.)

Pastor DD then makes a plea for a greater degree of specialization in the ministry.

> Why doesn't the church sit back and say "What disciplines, what areas would we like some really good men to penetrate?" Is it sociology? Is it teaching? You know what it is. If these are the things we want to penetrate then let's train the guy. Let's see that he gets trained to get into that field. They will pay him part of his salary; we'll pay the other part and we are killing two birds with one stone. He can be a priest to his parishioners and maybe a priest out there too. A little counseling on the side to some of his fellow teachers or students. Student counseling would be a marvelous occupation. But you have to have training to do that. . . .

Pastor DD spoke then with strong feeling about his actual departure from the ministry in which he feels that he did not receive adequate counseling from church leaders. He says,

> Nobody accepts a secular job, or leaves the ministry . . . just drops out, without having anything to do, without some kind of warning signs having gone up. I know that was the case in my situation. I gave the warning. It is in the letter on file and nobody said boo. I know this happens time and time again. . . .

In this situation Pastor DD feels that the staff of Synod should somehow be able to counsel with men who are showing this kind of vocational crisis, not so much to "hold them to the church" as simply to understand their problems.

Pastor DD is young, personable, obviously gifted, for he had no difficulty in securing a top managerial post in an urban planning agency. He speaks with some bitterness about his leaving the parish ministry, but on the other hand speaks with great affection for a more flexible type of ministry in which he can continue to function as a worker-priest in a tent-maker role in which he would feel free to offer his services to the church while gaining his major income from secular sources.

A second minister who is "awaiting call" expresses himself about the ministry in these words reminiscent of Pastor Paul Schaeffer, the clergyman whose case study falls in the modern period. When asked the question, "What frustrations did you especially feel when you were in the active parish ministry?" his reply was,

> Most of my frustrations were personal. I felt primarily that a man could not be a person or was not accepted as a human being in the ministry, that he is looked upon by community and congregation alike as a stereotype, or as possibly even a sub-human type of individual, not entitled to the regular feelings of a human person: feelings of tiredness, of hostility, of ideals for his children, desire for an average standard of living, or at least on the level of his congregation. That was the basic frustration. The minister, I felt, was a kind of kept man. He did not even live in his own house. He really had nothing he could call his own, even his time.[18]

Here Pastor BJ puts into sharp focus some of the frustrations revealed by Schaeffer in an earlier interview about being a kept man, living in a church-owned parsonage, and being a person stereotyped by congregation and community. He mentions a very particular fear in terms of declining income in the later years of his career as a clergyman in these words:

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[18]Pastor BJ, Interview, November 1969.

> Another frustrating aspect was the devaluation of the experience as a minister. In other words, the older you get in the ministry, as I could see it, the less valuable your experience was. The devaluation of experience related to the older the pastor gets, the less important call he gets, and the less salary he gets. So that by the time he is ready to retire, he may be back where he started from financially. Whereas in industry, of course, this is not the case--experience is value.

Here is one of the little-explored areas of ministerial tension. In the actual pragmatic working out of careers in the ministry the peak years seem to be in the period 40-59. When a pastor is approaching the 60's he normally takes a call to a smaller and less remunerative position in a congregation unable to maintain the salary scale he had previously had. This may be why the age group 60-69 expressed more dissatisfaction with the clergy role than did the clergy in the younger age groups. (See Table 11.) Pastor BJ has other comments to make about the undefined pastoral role as he experienced it. He says:

> Another thing that bothered me was that the role of the minister was undefined. I did not know exactly what it was I was supposed to do. Outside of preaching and holding public worship and teaching, the rest was pretty open-ended. I had the feeling that the pastor's time was everybody's, without any fee of course; your time was everybody's for free. You were everybody's man, called upon by community, congregation, and church to do whatever they demanded. This led to feelings of frustration and guilt in not being able to accomplish everything that was demanded, and inability to say no, I guess.

This may be the explanation of the data in Table 8 in which clergy expressed strong feelings about the greatest single frustration being demands from the congregation. The picture is simple. If there are 300 families in the congregation and each one calls on the minister for one particular service during the month, the minister could be driven to near-distraction. Even one call from each family every two months

would place an impossible work load upon the minster. Yet each family would see only its particular request for service in the total life of the pastor. Thus it would be impossible for the individual family making the request to measure its impact on the total work-load of the minister unless he is able to define the total work-load through regular reports to council and congregation.

Pastor BJ has also some comments as to the reaction of his wife and family to his approach to leaving the ministry. The question was asked, "Would you comment on how your family felt? Were they involved in your decision to leave the parish ministry?" Pastor BJ answers:

> My family was very relieved when I left the ministry basically because I was seldom home. Although I did observe religiously at least one day off a week which we would all spend together. They were very happy to get out from under, so to speak, the pressures that they felt. They felt also that they were living in a stereotype world that people expected certain things from them which were not necessarily justified in terms of how a pastor's family should live. They felt under this fish-bowl pressure as well, and the wife especially. I think the stereotype of a pastor's wife is even more rigid than it is for the pastor. She has got to be plain; she has got to teach Sunday School or be a Sunday School superintendent; she has got to play the piano. Like one time somebody asked my wife: "Do you play the piano?" She said "No." "Do you teach Sunday School?" She said "No." She said then, "What do you do?" My wife said, "I bake a pretty good potato." That is the way they felt then, and that is the way they feel now. I recently felt a lot about the ministry, possibly returning. They /his family/ are very resistent here because they don't want to go back to that type of pressure under which they lived.

Pastor BJ also had an interesting comment worthy of further study about this "indelible stamp" referred to earlier by Pastor DD. He says:

> One other thought regarding the frustration of the ministry, I think that the community has a tendency to think of the minister as an ornament to a working community, that we are really not involved in the productive progress of the community, we are just kind of ornaments who are out of the main stream. This was frustrating to me, that I didn't feel that I was really on a day-to-day level with other guys in the community and this

> bothered me. When we were in the congregation we had a circle of friends that we saw socially, there was probably a dozen or more. We would all go out to dinner together on Friday night and we would have a great time together. After I left the parish, one by one these relationships cooled off and dropped out, so we were left with just one couple now from this group.

In this interview Pastor BJ, who has been out of the parish for about two years, has expressed his feelings of frustration at the demands of his congregation and the community which were unlimited, and there was no way that he could in good conscience say no to these demands without feeling guilty. He speaks about the stress on his family of an ill-defined role and how relieved they felt when he left the parish ministry: now, when he has an opportunity to return, the family is resisting a possible resumption of his pastoral role. He also tries to define the stereotype of the "indelible stamp" in stating that the community regards the minister not as a working member but as an ornament, which is tarnished when he leaves his pastoral parish role. He refers specifically to how his social relationships changed after he left the parish ministry, and to the fact that he found it impossible to continue his former pleasant relationships with the Lions Club and with the Civic Committee.

Another type of frustration leading to departure from the parish ministry was detailed by Pastor NR who is currently serving as a chaplain in a state institution in California. However, instead of complaining about the unlimited demands of the ministry, Pastor NR talked about the great freedom he had to work out his own schedule. However, the very freedom of his scheduling developed serious role strain in his parish situation. He says:

> The first Sunday I was there I preached my platform. I said "among other things, I don't like to preach. Preaching is a waste of time as far as I am concerned. It doen't

> convince anybody of anything; it doesn't do anything for anybody. You just hear me and I don't know what you are thinking about what I say. I'm not really hep on it so don't expect for me to be a good preacher."[19]

For the first six months he wrote out his sermons and after that preached extemporaneously--and found that his extemporaneous preaching gave him a better feeling of freedom. He then speaks about his schedule:

> I like the parish ministry because I could sleep. I could get up whenever I wanted to get up; I was always rested. I could go to bed at three at night and I could sleep until I woke up. I didn't have to get up. I lived on my schedule. I told my people, "Dont phone me before 9 o'clock in the morning because I am never up before 9." I don't care if I go to bed at 10, I am still not up before 9. I wake up at 7, I lie in bed till 9. I get out and call. I like calling, I enjoyed calling. I made my calls in the afternoon.

At this point and in others related in the interview, Pastor NR indicates how his sense of freedom as he understood the term was contrary to the traditional pattern of his middle-class congregation who for the most part kept regular office or industrial hours. He also refers to the fact that his wife made her declaration of independence at a woman's meeting by telling the women that she was not going to carry out some of the traditional duties of a minister's wife. She says: (here Mrs. NR came into the interview)

> Finally, I just decided that I would go to one of their meetings and tell them I wasn't doing it, and that I knew I wasn't doing it, and that I didn't intend to do it, that there was no reason that they should take it personally, as some of them seemed to do, so that is what I did; I went to a meeting and made all these explanations. Some of them were very angry and it took them a long time /to recover/, while some of them just stayed angry and they are still angry for all I know. . . . Some of them thought that I was "right on"--they saw what I was saying and they saw that I wasn't trying to put something over and that I wasn't slighting them personally, but I was just sort of doing what I wanted to do. A couple of them recognized that and were really good about it.

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[19] Pastor NR, Interview, January 1970.

In this and other ways, Pastor and Mrs. NR ran into serious difficulties with the congregation which later led to a complaint to Synod officials. Here Pastor NR is explicit in expressing his admiration for the Synod officer who handled the protest meeting. The crux of the matter was that as income declined in the parish it was impossible for the congregation to continue to pay his salary so that eventually he found it necessary to resign. In spite of some negative feelings about his traditional parish which did not accept his rather free-wheeling concepts of scheduling and preaching, when asked the question, "Would you consider going back into the parish ministry?" Pastor NR replied:

> Yes, I think I could consider going back into the parish ministry with something like Paul /Schaeffer/ has. If they would call me for a specific ministry. Of course, you see, the other thing is that I feel capable of defining my own role and sticking to that role. I will fight with people about it, but I don't get really up tight. At least I haven't so far ever been really up tight about people saying "Pastor, you have got to do this." I just say "no."

Here, while clearly defining his role in terms of telling his people what he would do and not do, apparently Pastor NR was breaking enough of the traditional pattern of the parish pastor so that when the inevitable financial pinch came, he was unable to continue in a parish relationship. Of the four pastors who were currently "awaiting call" in this series of interviews he was most explicit in speaking positively about the role of Synod officials in assisting him to make the transition.

In the interviews with the clergy who had left the parish ministry the pattern seems to emerge in this way. Pastor BJ and Pastor DD felt that the parish role was so ill-defined that they were never sure what was expected of them. Pastor NR clearly defined his own role, but it was unacceptable to his parishioners. All three spoke of considerable

strain on the wife and also on the children. Here is a subject for further exploration. Seldom does a professional man have to consider the impact on his career of his wife's role-playing. Perhaps in no other profession than the ministry is this interrelationship of husband and wife as a joint role-concept more important.

How do other Protestant denominations meet the problem of role redefinitions with their clergy? No extensive survey was undertaken for this study, but an interesting sidelight is thrown on the problem in the experience of the Episcopal Church in the Idaho Falls area. In that area five deacons (lower clergy), who had previously been lay readers licensed by their bishop, have undergone an intensive five-year study program under the direction of the dean of the district and are now ordained priests while still carrying out their secular employment. These five men had secular careers in engineering, police work, printing, and in radio and television. One of these men[20] in explaining the transition he had made from industry to tentmaker priest says:

> The problem of being a normal worker in commerce and industry and then part-time Episcopal priest is not anywhere as troublesome as it might be imagined. Our Latter-day Saint friends have made this relatively simple and easy--it is exactly what they do and they understand it. In my work as T.V. time salesman, it gives me a solid area to meet and discuss problems with my clients who are L.D.S. bishops and counselors, etc.

In response to a question as to when and how he used clerical attire, he said:

> Basic rule of thumb that we have developed treats clericals like a uniform. When I am on official duty at or for the church, I wear the uniform of the day. Members of the parish have come to understand that.

Says this television executive-Episcopal priest,

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[20]The Rev. A. M., Letter, June 15, 1970.

> I enjoy all the work that goes with the post. My special pleasure is in turning out a good sermon and getting good acceptance from the congregation assembled. I really think I got into the program in hopes that some day I would gain some measure of recognition as being one of the better preachers in the Episcopal church. But that wouldn't be too much of an accolade since there is so much not too good preaching in the Episcopal church.

In a parish letter[21] of St. John's Episcopal Church of Idaho Falls the rector, the Rev. J.V., announcing his own decision to enter a tentmaker type ministry, writes as follows:

> In the past five years St. John's has become more and more aware of the possibilities offered in a restoration of the historic self-supporting ministry. /St. Paul was a tentmaker, he earned his living at his trade./ Men have been trained here to undertake such a ministry. Since the priesthood is simply one aspect of the total ministry it serves a specialized function, not superior to but different from other ministries carried out by individual members of the body of Christ. It is daring but theologically sound to consider getting along without a paid priest so long as priestly services are available.

This fully professionally trained and ordained clergyman then announced his decision to give up his salary at St. John's and take a post with a federally funded agency dealing with senior citizens, but to continue his part-time services to the congregation without salary. The vestry (lay governing group) and congregation accepted his offer on an experimental basis. This same priest in an earlier paper entitled "The Self-Supporting Priesthood"[22] says that "the keys to an adequate acceptable self-supporting priesthood are: (1) recognition of the specialties to be performed; (2) selection of candidates on the basis of their personal character and qualifications to perform these specialties; (3) a basic

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[21] The Epistle of St. John's, newsletter of St. John's Episcopal Church, Idaho Falls, Idaho, June 7, 1970.

[22] "The Self-Supporting Priesthood an Apologetic," unpublished manuscript, Idaho Falls, Idaho, 1969.

education in the core materials of the faith; (4) special training in the ways in which their particular skills can be adapted to the church as needed; (5) assignment to a team in which there is a high level of supervision and accountability. These five principles have been accepted at least on an experimental basis by the Episcopal church. The men under the program have completed a five-year training period, have met all canonical requirements, and have been ordained. This is one approach to the problem of a more flexible type of ministry.

Recognizing the growing need for diversity in the ordained professional ministry of the Lutheran Church in America, the Commission on the Comprehensive Study of the Doctrine of the Ministry in its report to the national convention of that body in July 1970 stated:

> Who is a minister? What is the Church? Once upon a time it may have been easy to answer these questions. Today in a time of dramatic social change, the search for human community and the quest for authority challenges earlier definitions. Can ministry to a congregation be considered normative in these days of specialized chaplaincies and experimental missions? Must ministry be fulltime, or are "tent-making" ministries possible? Should women be ordained?[23]

In answer to some of these questions and in a comprehensive 25-page statement which was the report to the July convention, the Commission said in regard to full-time versus tentmaking ministries,

> Entrance upon or continuance in the ordained ministry shall not depend upon the source of income. Subject to the decision of the church, an ordained minister may be employed outside the church if either through or alongside such an occupation he expresses an official, representative ministry.[24]

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[23]Lutheran Church in America, Report on the Comprehensive Study of the Doctrine of the Ministry. (Philadelphia: Board of Publications, 1970), p. 2.

[24]Ibid., p. 6.

The Commission then proposes certain changes in the constitution of the Lutheran Church in America to make this possible. In an even more dramatic move, the Commission recommended and the Convention approved the removal of the word "man" from the description of a minister and substituted the word "person" thus allowing for ordination of women by that church body.[25]

Views of Church Leaders and Church Specialists

How do leaders of the Lutheran Church view the problems of the ministry and what solutions do they propose? In a series of interviews beginning in December 1969 and continuing until April 1970, administrative leaders, theologians, and religious sociologists were interviewed to discover their views as to problems of the changing clergy role and solutions as they saw them.

Dr. Robert Marshall, President of the Lutheran Church in America, in an interview at Asilomar said,

> The church has already reached some tentative conclusions. (1) Is it that we need a system of career development centers which would provide testing and counseling services to pastors at those points in life where most individuals are called upon to make decisions and adjustments? One of these points comes approximately five years after the man has entered the ministry. And then they come upon him at about ten-year intervals with different specific needs. /See Table 8./ Such a counseling service could provide an evaluation of the man's abilities, his functioning as a minister. They would review his vocational commitment. In some instances, they might be a part of the process by which a man would choose another vocation in the ministry. In other instances, they might be the way in which he arrived at the decision to specialize in some way. In most instances, insofar as the limited experience now shows, he would return to the parish ministry more highly motivated, with a positive evaluation of his abilities, with a clearer vision of the role that he should fill as a parish minister.

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[25]Lutheran Church of America, News Release (Philadelphia: Board of Publication, June 27, 1970).

> Secondly, the church has reached a conviction that there must be continuing education in general. And on that score that is about all that can be said at this point.[26]

Dr. Carl Segerhammar, president of the Pacific Southwest Synod, saw part of the problem as the different role concept between clergy and laity as to "Who would get the job done?" He said:

> Another thing is the fact that individual congregations expect the minister to be a sort of guy that does the work. Whereas the minister is trained to say he is part of a team of which the congregation, the congregation's members being also part of the universal priesthood of believers, must work together. And that tension sometimes focuses rather heavily.[27]

Here Dr. Segerhammar focuses on a distinction between what Robert F. Bales calls a task leader which, in Dr. Segerhammar's opinion, is what the congregation or laity expects of its clergy and the social, emotional leader, in Bales term, which the minister is trained to be. Dr. Segerhammar's independent opinion firmly supports the view of several individual clergy in interviews who spoke of themselves as being "enablers" rather than "administrators."

Dr. Charles Glock in an interview at the University of Utah in May 1970 was asked, "What model or types of clergy do you see at the present time?" Glock replied:

> I would see these three kinds of models; you have the traditional model. We have a tendency to see the traditionalist and then there is the activist. But there is a third model which is at least manifested in my own congregation and this is the guy who has given up the traditions pretty much. . . . He is not very activist, he is liberal enough, but he doesn't see the church's role to change, but he is very involved in psychotherapy and the whole program of the church has been very much influenced by this. . . . And this I think

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[26]Dr. Robert Marshall, Interview, September 30, 1969.

[27]Dr. Carl Segerhammar, Interview, September 30, 1969.

> is the whole movement in the church that I have only recently begun to sense. And you sense it very much up in the seminaries. . . .[28]

Here Glock describes his own wide experience in research with clergy, and the Lutheran clergy of the Southwest Pacific Synod in particular. His coments on the three models of traditional, activist, and therapist are demonstrated in the clergy interviewed in the sample as a part of the follow-up to the questionnaire.

Dr. Martin Marty, who teaches in the Department of History at the University of Chicago, is an ordained clergyman of the Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod. When asked the question, "Would you care to comment on the worker-priest or tentmaker priest concept in the clergy?" Dr. Marty said:

> Yes, I think this will inevitably be part of the change more in Catholicism than in Protestantism because Catholicism is going to feel a clergy shortage very soon. . . . In Protestantism, yes, the worker-priest has a bigger part. I'll only say this as long as you let me stress also the priest side of it, that is, I think it is a romantic mythology to picture the church in whatever form getting along without a set-aside ministry. . . . Yes, I see a great diversity. A typical denomination today will have from a fourth to a third of its ordained clergy in non-parochial roles. I, for example, have a call from the Missouri Synod to teach at the University of Chicago. . . . I am a worker-priest in that sense. I teach in the history department most days of the week. I make no secret of it that I am ordained and it somehow comes out. It provides a wonderful kind of dialogue with secular man. . . .[29]

Dr. Hagen Staack, who went through the crucible of the persecution of the Christian Church in Hitler's Germany, was a student of Dietrich Bonhoeffer's. He is an example of another concept of tentmaker priest in today's world. Because it was impossible for him to be ordained in

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[28]Dr. Charles Glock, Interview, May 1970.

[29]Dr. Martin Marty, Interview, February 1970.

Hitler's Germany, he chose instead to take his Ph.D. first in medieval history, and then a second degree in theology. He is currently teaching in the Department of Religion at Muhlenberg College in Allentown, Pennsylvania, but is also a visiting professor in geology at Temple University. He says of this relationship,

> In my own case I am teaching in Temple University's Graduate School in Philadelphia in the field of geology. Now my work in college is less with pre-theological students; we don't have many. But by far the greater majority are those who will go into medicine, into law, into teaching, into social work, and all fields that you can think of, and therefore, my task is really to train as much as I can within the limits of the Religion Department. . . . There something takes place to my great amusement; they know that in the natural sciences I still know more than they do. So they say, "well, if the old man knows something in that field and can intelligently talk with us about that, maybe what he says in religion is not so dumb either." Therefore, I think a pastor should acquire definite, precise, and accountable expertise in an additional area besides theology.[30]

In summary: (1) Clergy and laity see the visible clergy role in similar ways as shown by Table 7 reporting the data gathered by the questionnaire. (2) Clergy and laity agree on the sources of role strain--congregational demands, particularly in stewardship and fund-raising, which pastors resist. (3) Clergy and laity also agree that the best way to resolve role strain is dialogue between clergy and council. (4) Clergy and laity have a widely dissimilar view on the degree of satisfaction with the role felt by the clergy, the clergy showing much greater dissatisfaction than lay members perceive. (5) Communication, such as dialogue between clergy and councils, is made difficult by the inability of the clergy to describe their frustrations and stress to lay members. Some description of this particular role stress is revealed in

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[30]Dr. Hagen Staack, Interview, April 1970.

interviews both of active parish clergy and those who have left the active ministry. Clergy explain the role stress as being demands of congregations impossible to meet, for unlimited service over an unlimited period of time with particular devastating effects on family life; or in contrast, as having congregations reject a specific role definition offered by the clergyman. (6) Evidence is offered that the tent-maker role is one form of viable ministry to meet present social change. (7) Church leaders are aware of role stress in the clergy and are taking some measures to relieve it, such as counseling centers for the clergy.

Because of the role stress described in the questionnaire, and because data presented show the administrator role as no longer satisfying to the clergy, therefore, the following role redefinition is suggested as coming out of the evidence presented: Instead of preacher, the word which can be used to describe the need for conveying traditional dogma in today's world is "communicator." To meet the actual changed role performance and the expressed needs of laity, a second term suggested is "counselor." One viable form of redefinition of the ministerial role in terms of economic support, and developing in Staack's phrase a "definite, precise and accountable expertise in an additional area besides theology," is the tentmaker concept of the ministry. Thus the proposed redefined role in 1970 is Communicator-Counselor-Tentmaker.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The purpose of this study has been to measure the impact of social change on the role of the professional Lutheran clergy.

The theoretical base was stated: social change entails role change and causes cognitive dissonance. From this theoretical base, three testable hypotheses were derived: (1) social change results in role change among the clergy; (2) role changes of the clergy lead to role stress among both clergy and lay leaders; and (3) role stress of the clergy will result in measurable response by the laity.

The three hypotheses were tested through examination of three periods 1900-1920, 1920-1945, and 1945-1970. In these three periods, historical case studies of four representative Lutheran clergymen were presented to show how social change caused role stress and led to Lutheran clergy role redefinition.

For the period 1900-1925, the historical case study of the representative Lutheran clergymen defined the clergy role as preacher-teacher-guardian of public and private morals. Historical data from an earlier period was presented to establish the role ascription of preacher-teacher and the role performance as guardian of public and private morals. Social change in the period 1900-1920 included the process of acculturation, the transition from Swedish to American folk

ways and the impact on the Lutheran church of the first World War. There is some evidence that national prohibition after World War I was enacted partly because of the leadership of Protestant clergy carrying out their role as guardian of public morals.

In the second period 1920-1945, social change included the business expansion 1920-1929, the depression 1930-1940, and the second World War, 1941-1945. Data were presented to support the hypothesis that social change led to redefinition of the clergy role to preacher-teacher-administrator. Two historical case studies of representative Lutheran pastors were presented to illustrate the role redefinition, an emergence of the administrator concept of the redefined Lutheran clergy role.

Social change in the third historical period, 1945-1970, was described as (1) the election of a Roman Catholic to the Presidency of the United States and his subsequent assassination; (2) the election of Pope John XXIII and his call of the Second Vatican Council which had a continuing impact on Roman Catholic and on other Christian groups; (3) the decision of the United States Supreme Court on the one man, one vote principle and on religious ceremonies in the public schools; (4) the civil rights movement; (5) escalation by President Lyndon Johnson of the American war effort in Vietnam.

The impact of these social changes on a representative sample of 275 Lutheran clergy and laity of the Pacific Southwest Synod was measured in May 1969 through a specially designed questionnaire. Follow-up interviews over a six-month period with a stratified sample

of Pacific Southwest Synod clergy and church leaders provided additional data.

Findings

1. Clergy and laity perceived the clergy role in similar ways in the order of importance of ministerial duties.

2. There is also agreement between the clergy and laity on the sources of role strain: congregational demands in stewardship, office administration, and fund-raising.

3. Both clergy and lay members agree that the best way to resolve role strain is dialogue between clergy and church council members.

4. A dichotomy between clergy and laity was found in the measurement of the degree of satisfaction with the clergy role: the clergy show much greater dissatisfaction than the laity perceives.

5. Widely dissimilar views between the two groups were also found in measurement of the clergy work-week. The lay members greatly underestimate the time spent by the clergy on their duties.

6. Lay members do not understand the changes in role performance reported by the clergy who are spending more time in counseling, in fund-raising, and in office administration.

7. Dialogue between clergy and lay leaders to resolve role strain is made difficult by the inability of the clergy to describe the frustrations and stress they experience.

8. Church leaders are aware of clergy role stress and are taking some measures to relieve it.

9. The tentmaker concept is one viable alternate to present out-moded definitions of the clergy role.

10. The proposed redefinition of the Lutheran clergy role 1970 includes the concepts communicator-counselor-tentmaker.

The major hypothesis presented at the beginning of this study was (1) that social change leads to redefinition of the role of the Lutheran clergy; (2) that as the role changes, both clergy and laity experience stress factors; (3) that the stress factors can be recognized and measured; and (4) that these stress factors and the efforts to alleviate them have led to the adoption of a new concept of the present-day role of the clergyman.

Each of these premises has been explored and tested, and the data presented herein serves to attest their validity.

Recommendations

Data presented in this study have brought to light a number of inadequacies in the present Lutheran church structure and in the basic supportive tools it offers its clergy. To rectify this situation the following recommendations are presented in the hope that they may find implementation.

1. Vocational counseling centers should be established for the clergy. Lutheran leaders and clergy in the survey and in follow-up interviews concurred in describing the need for such centers to assist ministers in meeting the particular vocational problems of their profession.

2. Not only do the clergy need counseling themselves; they need training in how to meet the ever-increasing demand for counseling on

the part of their immediate congregations and the many others whose lives they touch. Especially do the clergy need skills in dealing with marital and other deeply personal problems. Consequently training centers which offer courses oriented specifically to these needs should be made available to clergy seeking to expand the talents of their vocation.

3. Training in communications skills should be provided in these centers. The study made it quite evident that the clergy need to learn how to define their own role to church councils and congregations, and how to recast the ageless message of the church in forms more relevant to the fluid social patterns of today. If the message is to reach the overwhelming number of young people who are, many perhaps unconsciously, seeking guidance toward a meaningful life, and is to bridge the gap which is said to exist between them and the "older generations," then communication with both groups must be skillfully established.

4. The need for a continuing graduate study program for those clergy who show aptitude must be recognized. The study amply disclosed that there is a real desire on the part of many of the clergy to continue their formal training in fields other than theology.

5. The tentmaker concept, which dates back to the early Christian era, must be recognized anew as being equally if not more valid in today's changing role-pattern for the ministry. Means for its implementation need to be explored and experimental techniques need to be employed. This concept should supplement, not replace, the traditional patterns in the ministry, which will probably always continue, modified as they must be by social changes. The proclamation of the message of the church,

administration of the sacraments, the teaching of the young, will probably always continue as basic patterns of clergy responsibility. But data have been presented to show the value of a more flexible concept of the ministry to meet specialized needs in isolated areas; to establish a broader economic base for support of the clergy and to provide a secondary area of competence through an acquired expertise in some field other than theology.

Related Areas Recommended for Further Study

1. The role of the pastor's wife and its relationship to that of her husband.

2. Ownership of residence by the clergy instead of church owned parsonage.

3. Team ministries composed of those retaining traditional ministerial functions and those who might serve in a tentmaker role.

4. A cluster of congregations forming a parish to provide a broader economic base and greater strength.

5. Definition of the "demands of the congregation" on the time and energy of the minister to identify specific needs which the pastor may be able to fill and needs which could be referred to others.

6. Writing a job description at the beginning of the pastor's work in a new parish, drawing upon the broad experience of the church at large and yet making the job description fit the needs of the particular parish.

7. A study of the role of women as ordained clergy as this becomes a part of the church's experience.

8. Establishing a work week for the clergy of a specified number of hours to help define the clergy role in a time dimension.

This study has presented evidence that social change has caused role stress leading to the redefinition of the Lutheran clergy role in three specific periods. Acceleration of social change in the 1960's has made redefinition more urgent for the decade of the 1970's. Further study of the interaction of social change on the role of the clergy is needed if the process of role redefinition is to continue without disrupting the ministry of the Lutheran church.

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APPENDIX A

EVALUATION OF COURSE ON COUNSELING FOR RELIGIOUS LEADERS

1. List the most valuable contributions you received from this course:

2. List the least valuable contributions you received from this course:

3. In rating effect of this course on my work as a counselor, I am

   Much better trained _____

   Somewhat better trained _____

   About the same as before _____

   Comment

4. If we were to do this course over, I would suggest

5. As a follow-up to this course I would prefer (Rank 1 to 5)

   Other more advanced academic courses _____

   Small group discussions with other religious leaders in a non-academic setting for a three-month period _____

   Larger meetings of religious leaders on topics discussed in this course three or four times a year _____

   Other _____

6. I do counseling (select place most frequently used)

In my home _____

In my church office _____

In homes of people who ask for my help _____

7. My principal duties as a religious leader are: (Rank 1 - 7)

Preparing sermons and talks _____

Administering sacraments _____

Office administration
(supervising committees, reports, etc.) _____

Counseling _____

Teaching _____

Calling _____

Other _____

8. Estimate the hours you spent last week on these activities.

Preparing sermons and talks _____

Administering sacraments _____

Office administration _____

Counseling _____

Teaching _____

Calling _____

Other _____

9. Church affiliation _____

10. Age _____

11. Check highest level of completed academic study.

High School	2, 3, 4
College	1, 2, 3, 4
Graduate - Theology	1, 2, 3, 4
Graduate (Other)	1, 2, 3, 4

APPENDIX B

SURVEY OF THE ROLE OF THE CLERGY - 1969

INTRODUCTION Is the role of the clergy changing?

There is a wide-spread belief that the role of ministers and religious leaders is undergoing major change.

The following questionnaire prepared by a graduate student in the Department of Sociology at the University of Utah is an attempt to measure change or lack of change in the minister's role.

Your co-operation in filling out this questionnaire will provide some answers to this important question.

Please answer all questions. Your completely candid answers will provide the kind of information needed for this survey.

A report on this study will be sent to all ministers and religious leaders who participate.

Please do not sign your name. After completing the questionnaire, place it in the envelope provided and seal.

Thank you for your help in exploring a vital question of our time.

If for some reason you are not able to complete the questionnaire at this time please mail to:

Neale E. Nelson
1070 Foothill Drive
Salt Lake City, Utah 84108

SURVEY OF THE ROLE OF THE CLERGY - 1969

1. Age _____ Single _____ Married _____ No. of children _____

2. How many members (over 14) in your congregation? _____

3. Check highest level of completed academic study

High School	2, 3, 4
College	1, 2, 3, 4
Graduate, Theology	1, 2, 3, 4
Graduate (Other)	1, 2, 3, 4

4. During the period 1900-1920, some writers have described the composite role of the minister as

   PREACHER - TEACHER - GUARDIAN OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE MORALS.

   I think that description is accurate for that period. _____

   I think that the description is not accurate for that period. _____

   I would prefer the following description of the clergy role between 1900-1920:

   _____

   _____

5. During the period 1920-1960 the role of the clergy has been described as PREACHER - TEACHER - ADMINISTRATOR.

   I agree _____

   I disagree _____

   I would prefer to describe the role during that period as _____

   _____

   _____

6. How long has it been since you were ordained or selected for your present church position?

   _____ number of years.

   What was your age at time of ordination? _____

7. What type of community does your congregation serve?

Downtown _____

Low income or ghetto _____

Middle or upper income residential _____

Other _____

8. My principal duties as a religious leader are: (Rank 1 - 7)

Preparing sermons and talks _____

Administering sacraments _____

Office administration
(supervising committees, reports, etc.)_____

Counseling _____

Teaching _____

Calling _____

Other _____

9. Estimate the hours you spend on an average week (not Holy Week) on these activities.

Preparing sermons and talks _____

Administering sacraments _____

Office Administration _____

Counseling _____

Teaching _____

Calling _____

Other _____

10. How would you describe your attitude toward the ministry (circle one)

a. very satisfied b. moderately satisfied

c. moderately dissatisfied d. very dissatisfied

11. Describe below an ideal clergyman for your denomination.

12. What is your actual evaluation of how you perform as a clergyman?

13. What are the factors preventing you from reaching your goals as a clergyman? (Rank in order of importance to you, 1 - 7.)

a. Demands from my congregation to do things I don't feel are important. _____
b. Demands from my church superiors to do things I don't think are important. _____
c. My own lack of ability to organize my time. _____
d. Lack of clear understanding of what my goals are. _____
e. A feeling that I am alone in my work. _____
f. Economic hardship - not enough personal income. _____
g. Other (specify) _____

15. What would help you most overcome barriers to reaching your goals?

    a. More academic training. _____

    b. Discussion with my church superiors. _____

    c. Dialogue with members of the policy-making group in my congregation. _____

    d. Discussion groups with other clergy about common problems. _____

    e. Other _____

16. The greatest change that has occurred in my performance of my duties in the last five years is:

17. I feel that in the future a clergyman should make the following changes in his role:

APPENDIX C

SURVEY OF THE ROLE OF THE CLERGY - 1969

INTRODUCTION

Is the role of the clergy changing?

There is a wide-spread belief that the role of ministers and religious leaders is undergoing major change.

The following questionnaire prepared by a graduate student in the Department of Sociology at the University of Utah is an attempt to measure change or lack of change in the minister's role.

Your cooperation in filling out this questionnaire will provide some answers to this important question.

Please answer all questions. Your completely candid answers will provide the kind of information needed for this survey.

A report on this study will be sent to all ministers and religious leaders who participate.

Please do not sign your name. After completing the questionnaire, place it in the envelope provided and seal.

Thank you for your help in exploring a vital question of our time.

If for some reason you are not able to complete the questionnaire at this time, please mail to:

Neale E. Nelson
1070 Foothill Drive
Salt Lake City, Utah 84108

SURVEY OF THE ROLE OF THE CLERGY - 1969

1. Circle one: Clergy Council Member Neither

2. Age _____ Single _____ Married _____ Male _____ Female _____

3. How many members over age 14 are in your congregation? _____

4. Check highest level of academic study you have completed.

High School	2, 3, 4
College	1, 2, 3, 4
Graduate, Theology	1, 2, 3, 4
Theological School	_____
Graduate (Other)	1, 2, 3, 4

5. During the period 1900 - 1920, some writers have described the composite role of the minister as
   PREACHER - TEACHER - GUARDIAN OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE MORALS

   I think that description is accurate for that period _____

   I think that description is not accurate for the period _____

   I have no opinion _____

6. During the period 1920 - 1945 the role of the clergy has been described as
   PREACHER - TEACHER - ADMINISTRATOR

   I agree _____ I disagree _____ I have no opinion _____

7. What type of community does your congregation serve?

   Downtown but not ghetto _____ Low income or ghetto _____

   Middle or upper income residential _____

8. In my opinion, the pastor's duties in order of importance are: (Rank 1 to 9 with 1 being the most important and 9 the least important.)

_____ Preparing sermons and talks	_____ Counseling
_____ Administering sacraments	_____ Teaching
_____ Office Administration	_____ Calling
_____ Fund Raising	_____ Community Activities
	_____ Public Relations

9. Estimate the hours you or your pastor spend on an average week on these activities.

Preparing sermons and talks _____ hours
Administering sacraments _____ hours
Fund Raising _____ hours
Office Administration _____ hours
Counseling _____ hours
Teaching _____ hours
Calling _____ hours
Community activities _____ hours
Public relations _____ hours
I do not know _____

10. How would you describe your own or your pastor's attitude toward his ministry? (Circle one)

a. very satisfied
b. moderately satisfied
c. moderately dissatisfied
d. very dissatisfied
e. I don't know

11. In your opinion what gives you or your pastor his greatest satisfaction. Rank 1 to 9 with 1 indicating greatest satisfaction and 9 the least satisfaction.

_____ preaching
_____ fund raising
_____ public relations
_____ teaching
_____ community activities
_____ office administration
_____ calling
_____ counseling
_____ administering sacraments

IN THE NEXT TWO QUESTIONS YOU ARE ASKED TO:
No. 12 Describe an ideal pastor in terms of parish ministry.
No. 13 You are asked to rate the performance of your pastor in terms of the ideal standard.

12. In my opinion a pastor should show: (rank in order of importance to you on a scale 1 to 5 in which 1 being the highest and 5 the lowest)

Circle the number which applies

1 2 3 4 5 Compassion for people

1 2 3 4 5 Efficiency as an administrator

1 2 3 4 5 Ability to work with others

1 2 3 4 5 Good teacher

1 2 3 4 5 Good preacher

1 2 3 4 5 Commitment to Christ

1 2 3 4 5 Loyalty to his congregation

1 2 3 4 5 Good counselor

1 2 3 4 5 Involved in the community

1 2 3 4 5 Speaks out on social issues

1 2 3 4 5 Good fund raiser

13. In your opinion how do you perform as a clergyman or how does your pastor perform in the following categories. Circle the number which applies.

1 2 3 4 5 Compassion for people

1 2 3 4 5 Efficiency as an administrator

1 2 3 4 5 Ability to work with others

1 2 3 4 5 Good teacher

1 2 3 4 5 Good preacher

1 2 3 4 5 Commitment to Christ

1 2 3 4 5 Loyalty to his congregation

1 2 3 4 5 Good counselor

1 2 3 4 5 Involved in the community

1 2 3 4 5 Speaks out on social issues

1 2 3 4 5 Good fund raiser

14. As you see yourself or your pastor working, can you identify the three major goals for this year?

(Mark the 3 goals you identify as most important with 1 being the most important goal)

_____ Building or remodelling the church building
_____ Debt reduction
_____ Greater effort in stewardship
_____ Greater effort in evangelism
_____ More involvement of our parish in community affairs
_____ Greater emphasis on adult education
_____ More marital counseling
_____ More work with small groups within the parish
_____ Improving sermons
_____ More study
_____ More youth work

15. What are the factors preventing you as pastor or preventing your pastor from reaching his goals?

(Rank in order of importance, with 1 being the most important and 6 the least important)

_____ Demands from congregation to do things he doesn't feel are important.
_____ Demands from church superiors to do things he doesn't think are important.
_____ Lack of ability to organize his time.
_____ Lack of clear understanding of what his goals are.
_____ A feeling that he is alone in his work.
_____ Economic hardship - not enough personal income.
_____ I don't know.

16. What would you suggest as ways to help the pastor reach his goals? (Rank in order of importance 1 to 5)

_____ More academic training
_____ Discussion with church superiors
_____ Dialogue with members of the policy-making group in our congregation
_____ Discussion groups with other clergy about common problems.
_____ Pastoral consultation

17. The greatest changes I have observed in the pastor's performance of his duties in the last three years are:

Mark either column 1 or column 2

Column 1	Column 2
_____ More counseling	_____ Less counseling
_____ More time on administration	_____ Less time on administration
_____ More involvement in community	_____ Less involvement in community
_____ More time spent on sermon preparation	_____ Less time spent on sermon preparation
_____ More calling on members	_____ Less calling on members
_____ More calling on prospective members	_____ Less time calling on prospective members
_____ More time for advanced training	_____ Less time for advanced training
_____ More emphasis in stewardship	_____ Less emphasis in stewardship

18. When conflicts arise in our community on racial or economic matters, I believe the pastor should:

(Check one answer which reflects your own view)

_____ remain neutral and not express himself.

_____ work actively to bring about a settlement.

_____ make his views known in sermons but let others work out a settlement.

APPENDIX D

CONTINUING EDUCATION FOR THE CLERGY

CLERGY ONLY

NAME _____ ADDRESS _____

PARISH _____ OTHER WORK _____

1. WHAT CONTINUING EDUCATION EXPERIENCES HAVE YOU HAD IN PAST 3 YEARS?

_____ Summer session at Pacific Lutheran Theological Seminary

_____ Graduate study at some other seminary

_____ Graduate study at college or university

_____ Other (specify) _____

_____

_____

_____ Cost to you.

2. WHAT PROGRAM OF CONTINUING EDUCATION WOULD YOU LIKE TO PARTICIPATE IN DURING THE NEXT 3 YEARS?

_____ Summer session at Pacific Lutheran Theological Seminary

_____ Graduate study at some other seminary

_____ Graduate study at college or university

_____ Other (specify) _____

_____

_____

_____ Estimated annual cost of study

_____ Would finance myself

_____ Need financial help

3. MY SPECIAL FIELD OF INTEREST IN CONTINUING EDUCATION IS _____

_____

_____

_____

APPENDIX E

CONTINUING EDUCATION FOR THE CLERGY

LAY DELEGATES ONLY

NAME _____ ADDRESS _____

PARISH _____

(Please indicate yes or no)

1. _____ Pastors should have a program for continuing education.
2. _____ I believe the cost of such education should be paid in part by the congregation.
3. _____ I would support a council recommendation to help my Pastor engage in such a program.
4. _____ I believe our congregation could pay:

   _____ $100

   _____ $100 - $200

   _____ Other to help our pastor in such a program.

VITA

Name	Neale Eugene Nelson
Birthdate	November 21, 1918
Birthplace	Rankin, Illinois
Elementary School	Cannon Falls Elementary School Cannon Falls, Minnesota
High School	Cannon Falls High School Cannon Falls, Minnesota
Degrees	Bachelor of Arts Gustavus Adolphus College St. Peter, Minnesota, 1940
	Bachelor of Divinity Lutheran School of Theology Rock Island, Illinois, 1945
	Master of Social Work University of Utah Salt Lake City, Utah, 1967
Publications	"The Minister and Human Potentialities," Journal of Religion and Health, Vol. 7, No. 2 (April 1968), with Herbert A. Otto, pp. 182-189
	"The Word in Season," May 18-23, 1970 Daily Devotions, Fortress Press
Professional Experience	Parish Ministry
	First Lutheran Church Moscow, Idaho, 1945-1949
	Luther Memorial Church Seattle, Washington, 1949-1957
	Zion Lutheran Church Salt Lake City, Utah, 1957-1970

Professional Organizations	Ministerium, Pacific Southwest Synod, Lutheran Church in America
	Salt Lake Ministerial Association
	Salt Lake City Council of Churches
	Utah Conference on Social Welfare (Vice-President, 1967-1968)
	National Association of Social Workers
	Member, Board of Family Service Counseling Center, 1962-1966 (Treasurer, 1965-1966)